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THE OFFICIAL MAGAZINE OF THE CIVIL WAR SOCIETY

VOLUME 3 • NUMBER 3



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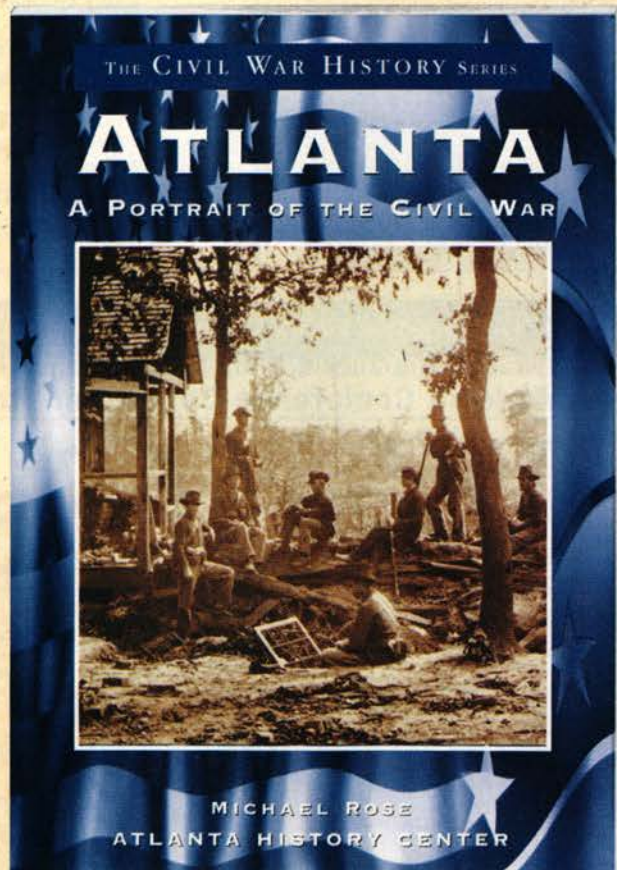
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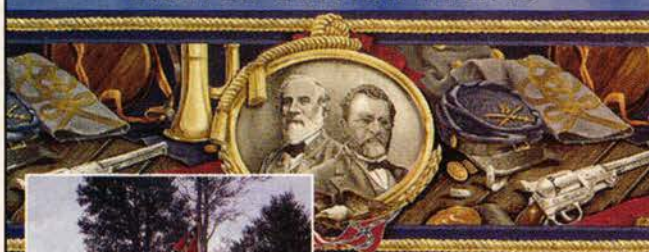
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NORTH & SOUTH

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During May and June of 1864, Robert E. Lee received over 30,000 reinforcements; but he also suffered far higher losses than previously believed. —*Alfred Young*

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NORTH AND SOUTH

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DISTRIBUTION

DOMESTIC

ADS, 2121 Waukegan Road, Ste. 120, Bannockburn, IL 60015

INTERNATIONAL

Time-Warner Publishers' Services International

NORTH & SOUTH is published monthly except for March, May, July, September, and December, by North & South Magazine, Inc., 33756 Black Mountain Road, Tollhouse, CA 93667. Subscriptions US \$24.95 for 6 issues. Canadian \$29.95, foreign \$49.95. Application to Mail at Periodicals Postage Rates is Pending at Tollhouse, CA and additional mailing offices. Postmaster: send address changes to North & South, P.O. Box 1027, Escondido, CA 92033-1027. SUBSCRIPTION QUESTIONS: US & Canada call (800) 546-6707, foreign (559) 855-8637. Unless expressly stated, NORTH & SOUTH neither endorses nor is responsible for the contents of advertisements in its pages. Letters to the editor become the property of NORTH & SOUTH, and may be edited. NORTH & SOUTH accepts no responsibility for unsolicited manuscripts unaccompanied by return postage. Permission to reproduce the issue or parts thereof must be secured from the publisher.

ISSN 1522-9742

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Editorial

FIGURING IT OUT

OUR LEAD ARTICLE THIS ISSUE concerns numbers and losses in the Army of Northern Virginia during the Overland Campaign of May-June 1864. Author Al Young has been working on this topic for some years, and by supplementing the more conventional sources with an examination of casualty reports in southern newspapers, has taken us appreciatively nearer to an understanding of the strength of Lee's army during the campaign. His conclusions concerning both the reinforcement of Lee's army and the casualties it suffered are startling to anyone familiar with the conventional wisdom on the subject.

These figures are important, for they must underlie any meaningful analysis of Grant and Lee's generalship during the campaign, and enable us to understand how near (or not, as the case may be) Grant came to winning the war in the east in 1864 rather than 1865. A related article by Gordon Rhea, entitled "Grant vs. Lee," will appear in our Lee special (volume 3, #5). This analyzes the campaign from Lee's perspective; a later article (in volume 4, #1) will do so from Grant's. Finally, there is "What Was Wrong With the Army of the Potomac?," a discussion piece between several leading historians, scheduled to appear in volume 3, #6. It is hoped that the latter will generate a study of the staff work of the Army of the Potomac—a subject which has never seriously been addressed.

These articles, all throwing light on related topics, illustrate how over time we expect *North & South* to contribute to a deeper understanding of the war, helping us all get away from glib explanations and sweeping, but generally invalid, generalizations.

A similar series of interrelated articles on the causes of the war is planned, and at the same time we will consider the pros and cons of such labels as "the Civil War" and "the War Between the States," as well as the more polemical "War of Northern Aggression" and "the War of the Slave Holders' Revolt." Not to mention my personal favorite, "the late unpleasantness." Of related interest will be a pair of articles on the right of secession, by Kent Masterson Brown (pro) and John Y. Simon (con), scheduled for volume 3, #6. If past experience is any guide, all these will generate a lively correspondence. Which, incidentally, raises another point. Our readers are a prolific bunch of writers, and we receive many more letters than we can publish in the magazine. Many of those for which we cannot find space are now being posted on our website, and can therefore be seen at northandsouthmagazine.com.

Civil War Education

We very much hope all subscribers will wish to become members of the Civil War Society. Not only can we promise you a stimulating and convivial program of events (and a whole lot of discounts), but you will also be helping to support our efforts to improve the coverage of "the war" in our schools and colleges. As we go to press we are gathering information on that coverage—curricula, learning materials, and so forth. We would like to hear from anyone with an interest in this—whether their experience is as a teacher, a student, a parent, or whatever.





Crossfire

GEORGE G. MEADE

One of my concerns has always been the treatment of General George Meade after the Battle of Gettysburg.

Your Special Edition ("The Retreat From Gettysburg," volume 2, #6) is an excellent piece of gathering historical facts and putting them into proper perspective. The articles were excellent, but the one that really impressed me was your summation. I am impressed by the analytical approach and the fairness of your conclusions.

This issue is a "keeper" and will remain in my permanent library of Civil War material. I only keep those books and magazines that are worthy of use in subsequent research projects.

—Robert L. Oakes
Overland Park, Kansas

* * * *

I found D.H. Tolleris comments concerning George Meade in "Crossfire" (vol. 3, #1) thought provoking. Unfortunately Mr. Tolleris' credibility is seriously undermined by his continuous referral to General Lee as "Bobby." I find it particularly ironic that Tolleris on the one hand argues for more respect for General Meade, while on the other hand he exhibits such disrespect for Marse Robert.

I also must take exception to his statement that Meade "beat the stuffing out of Bobby Lee's army" at Gettysburg. Lee clearly lost the battle, but he was on the offensive throughout and retired at his leisure. I am not sure exactly what beating the stuffing out of an army means, but I don't believe it applies in this case.

I am very disappointed that Tolleris has stooped to these unscholarly comments. *North & South* is a great magazine, and I thought dedicated to serious research with respect for both sides and all points of view. I certainly hope future "Crossfire" comments will be on a higher plain and I implore you to refrain from publishing those that are not.

Rick Leaumont
Member: Sons of Confederate Veterans
Capt. F.M. Jackson Camp #1778

ED: I suspect this is one of those cases where "respect is in the eye (or possibly the ear) of the beholder." When Union generals warned Ulysses S. Grant in 1864 that "you have not yet met Bobby Lee," they were clearly intending no disrespect; rather the opposite in fact. As for your other point, I agree with you that "beat the stuffing out of," is an overstatement

of the case. On the other hand the Army of Northern Virginia lost an estimated 5,000 stragglers captured in the days immediately following the battle, which suggests that the retreat was anything but leisurely, at least until the army occupied the lines at Williamsport.

On a more general note, *North & South* will continue to reflect many points of view, and each reader (including the editor!) will find some more palatable than others.

DANIEL WEBSTER

On page 72 of the latest issue (*North & South*, vol. 3, #1) there is a photo labeled as a hospital ship, the *Daniel Webster*. The ship is clearly a double-ended warship, not a hospital ship. It appears to be the USS *Agawam* (apparently mis-identified by the Library of Congress as USS *Mendota*). An internet link through "thorobredmodels.simplenet.com" (www.tarleton.edu/%7Ekjones/navy.html) resulted in a copy of the same photo. Nonetheless I enjoy your magazine. Keep it coming.

—Rob Chester, via email

TRUE TO THE UNION

In James Marten's article "Texans in the U.S. Army" (*North & South*, volume 3, #1), there are several errors. There were only 122 voting counties in Texas in early 1861, not the stated 132. Governor Sam Houston did not "resist the rebellion" as stated but instead after leaving office he supported the South in the war.

Colonel Richard Langford (ret.)
San Antonio, Texas

Ed: Thanks, you are correct as to the number of counties. As for Houston, Jim's point was that he "resisted the rebellion" up to the moment of secession; after that he certainly supported the military efforts of his adopted state, even while deploring the break up of the Union.

RAIDERS

I enjoyed James A. Ramage's article "Mosby in the Valley" (*North & South*, volume 3, #1). Can you tell me what was the ultimate fate of Mosby and Chapman after the war? Were they hanged or honored? As for me, I see them both as scoundrels!

Keith Kline, Vancouver, Canada

ED: William Chapman was paroled on April 22, 1865. After the war he worked for the revenue service, and died in 1929 at the ripe old age of 89. Mosby was pardoned for his part in the rebellion in 1866. He returned to the practice of law, and befriended Ulysses S. Grant, whom he supported for president in the elections of 1868 and 1872. He held various government appointments, including that of US consul in Hong Kong. He died in 1916.

TACTICAL STALEMATE

I enjoyed Gerald J. Prokopowicz's article, "Tactical Stalemate" [*N&S*, volume 2, #7]. I believe he is correct to question the "rifle revolution" theory. If I may I would like to suggest another source that supports the position of the limited effect the rifle had in Civil War battles.

George Willard, a U.S. Army major and colonel of the 125th New York Volunteer Infantry, wrote: "Much has been said during the past few years about the rifled musket and rifled cannon, and the great changes which they would effect in the art of war. . . it is a grave error, to adopt rifled arms, with the elevating sight, to the exclusion of the smooth bore." His general opinion on the merits of the two styles of arms is expressed in this statement. "The particular merits of the new arms, lie in their accuracy, and in their long range, but these have been purchased at the sacrifice of some important qualities, . . . : the horizontal fire and a greater force of penetration at short distances." Willard pointed out that in the recent European battles of Magenta and Solferino (1859) the losses were less than during the battles of the Napoleonic area that were fought with smooth bore muskets. He went on to say that the rifle musket carries about 1,000 yards. It comes with an elevating sight that is difficult to manage and easily damaged. Nineteen twentieths of the men who carry the rifle don't know how to use it. Willard explains the weakness of the arm when given to men who are not trained how to use it.

"In the new arm, the trajectory is very high; at long distances the projectile plunges and the dangerous space (for the enemy) is reduced too a few yards. . . Thus at 900 yards, an error of 5 yards in the appreciation of the distance, and at 500 yards, an error of 30 yards, would cause to be missed a target 15 feet high, sufficient to entirely over shoot a line of Cavalry." Willard went on to explain, "With the rifled musket, the trajectory of the piece sighted for 500 yards gives the following results: at 100 yards the ball passes 7 feet above the line of sight. At 200 and 250 yards, it passes at 12 feet above; at 300 yards 12 1/2 feet, to fall suddenly to 0 in the next 200 yards.... The sight must be regulated (changed) for every change of 100 paces in the distance. For example, at 400 to 450 paces the aim must be at the waist belt, and from 450 to 500, the aim must be directed to the top of the cap, otherwise the ball will bury itself in the ground at your enemy's feet. The soldier's mind is perpetually occupied in guessing at distances, and in combining them (continued on page 94)



Albert A. Nofi

Knapsack A CIVIL WAR DIGEST

FROM THE GRAPEVINE

- So great was inflation in the Confederacy towards the end of the war that in some areas a single sheet of letter paper was selling for five cents.
- There was so much firing during the famous review of J.E.B. Stuart's Cavalry Division near Brandy Station on June 8, 1863, that Union troops camped several miles away across the Rappahannock River thought a major battle was in progress.
- Only 4% of all locomotives made in the United States during 1860 were built in what would shortly become the Confederacy.
- Quite early in the war Union troops discovered that the sword bayonet provided for the British-made Enfield musket, while having "a very formidable appearance, . . . made the rifles 'muzzle heavy,' and were useless, even for chopping wood."
- Confederate Brigadier General Jerome Bonaparte Robertson was nicknamed "Aunt Pollie," because of his fussiness.
- In January of 1862, an administrative oversight forced Union Brigadier General Charles P. Stone to buy railroad tickets for himself and the men who were escorting him from Washington to New York, where he was to be imprisoned on false charges of treason.
- Statistically, during the Civil War an average of one man was killed or mortally wounded for every 4.8 men who suffered non-mortal wounds.
- During the Mexican War Winfield Scott declared that Brigadier General Emmanuel Twiggs was "not qualified to command an army either in the presence or in the absence of the enemy," a verdict which did not prevent Jefferson

Davis from making the latter a major general, though he wisely refrained from giving the man anything important to command.

- Urged to support Confederate emigration to Brazil, R.E. Lee declined, saying "The South requires the presence of her sons . . . to sustain and restore her."



- The remains of five of men who drowned when the experimental Confederate submarine *Hunley* sank on August 29, 1863, have recently been disinterred from anonymous graves beneath The Citadel's Hagood Stadium and reburied with honors in Charleston's Magnolia Cemetery. Photograph (above) courtesy the Citadel.

SHORT ROUNDS

Water and Molasses

On occasion during the war higher authority would sometimes decree a party for the troops. Typically on such occasions a small herd of beeves was supplied to each regiment—usually one per company—to be split and roasted over open fires. Regimental bands supplied the music and the troops themselves would often sing or dance for the entertainment of their comrades, while the quartermaster supplied various staples, and the officers kicked in for an extra special treat, such as something sweet.

The most delicate aspect of such regimental parties was the matter of drink. Feelings about drink ran strong

in mid-nineteenth century America. It was a hard drinking time, though the temperance movement was strong. Of course a lot of senior officers were known to take a nip now and again, and winked at drinking among their men. But there were some officers—particularly commanders of black regiments—who were staunchly opposed to "demon rum" and would not allow it in their camps. Yet how could one have a party without a little taste of something interesting?

One recourse was an old expedient sometimes used by slave owners when throwing a party for their bondsmen, "water and molasses." For each company one mixed together:

- 1 barrel or water
- 3 gallons of molasses
- 1 quart of undiluted vinegar
- 1/2 pound of ground ginger

The resulting concoction was actually a passable substitute for harder stuff. The ginger provided flavor and the vinegar a certain bite, while the molasses gave color and enough sugar to hike up one's metabolism a mite. Given the circumstances water and molasses was just the thing to provide a little extra to insure a convivial atmosphere at a regimental blowout. As one observer noted, it would "cheer but not inebriate."

Of course even in the driest regiments the troops were usually able to find some interesting to drink on their own.

"Out Cutlasses, and Board!"

In the grand old days of wooden ships and iron men boarding was a commonplace tactic in naval warfare. But by the time of the Civil War, the introduction of long-ranged cannon, steam power, and ironclad warships greatly reduced the possibility of using such tactics.

Nevertheless, during the Civil War, and for more than a generation after it, the U.S. Navy still issued several weapons designed for hand-to-hand combat, and Uncle Sam's bluejackets and jar-

We make every effort to check the accuracy of anecdotes published in "Knapsack," but many were written down years after the event and in some cases are undoubtedly folk tales rather than genuine reminiscences.

The crimes of this guilty land will be judged away but with blood.

—John Brown (statement to the court upon being sentenced to hang.)

heads were routinely required to practice with them, as were their Confederate counterparts.

Naval Close-Combat Weapons During the Civil War

Weapon	Description
Battle Axe	20-inch hickory shaft with a 4-inch steel axe head, with hammer peen
Boarding Pike	8-foot ash shaft topped by an 8-inch steel spearhead
Cutlass M1841	26-inch straight, double-edge blade, with brass basket hand guard
Cutlass M1862	32-inch curved, single-edged blade, with brass basket hand guard

Despite their apparent obsolescence, all of these weapons saw some use in combat during the war, and not just in ship-to-ship actions either. Some of the sailors and marines who took part in the storming of Fort Fisher in January of 1865 were armed with edged-weapons rather than muskets and revolvers.

These weapons long-survived the Civil War. Battle axes—which were useful for damage control as well as close-combat—and boarding pikes were not abolished until the 1880s. Cutlasses lingered on for much longer. In fact, sailors were still required to perform cutlass drill into the early years of the twentieth century. And the cutlass was not formally dropped from the Navy until 1949, apparently due to one of those “administrative oversights” of which bureaucracies are so fond.

An Incident on the Road to Bull Run

Veterans of the 1st Minnesota, had a curious tale to tell about how they came to acquire their reputation as one of the toughest outfits in the Union Army. According to tradition, it all began on the morning of July 21, 1861, as the regiment was marching along a road that would shortly lead it to what would soon be known as the Battle of Bull Run. As the regiment trudged by, the troops

passed many people who just stood by the roadside to watch them pass. For the most part they were Confederate sympathizers. But there were a few Unionists among them.

At one point, while the regiment was resting by the side of the road, the troops noticed a very old black man who appeared to be wearing faded bits and pieces of a Revolutionary War uniform, and was boldly waving “Old Glory.”

Some of the troops went over to speak with the old gentleman. Giving his name, he told them that as a boy he had been drummer “for Genrul Washington” during the final months of the Revolutionary War. The troops, staunch Unionists all, and abolitionists to boot, exchanged pleasantries with the man, questioning him about the earlier war and listening to his advice on soldiering. Then, as they were being called back into ranks, one of the troops asked if the old man would bestow a veteran’s blessing upon them. The old man did so, calling upon the Lord to watch over the regiment and give the men strength for the fight. Shortly the regiment marched off, never to see the old man again.

Later that day the 1st Minnesota was heavily engaged in the thickest of the fighting for Hull House Hill, helping to beat off three successive attacks. The only Union outfit that had to be ordered to retreat, the 1st Minnesota incurred the heaviest casualties of any regiment in the battle, 180 men killed or wounded. It was a performance that the regiment would repeat, less than two years later, when it incurred the highest percentage of casualties of any regiment in the war in a single action, 82.4% in a single counter-attack on the second day at Gettysburg.

Even years after the war, many of the veterans of the 1st Minnesota attributed the regiment’s stoutness in action to the old man’s blessing.

CORRIGENDA

In a very friendly letter Bud Livingston recently pointed out that in fact Barnum’s museum was not destroyed as a result of the Confederate plot to burn

New York in November of 1864 (See “Knapsack” in *North & South*, vol. 3, #1).

Bud, the author of *Lincoln’s Third City*, an excellent history of Brooklyn during the Civil War, observes that according to Barnum himself, the fire was put out so quickly that “not even a scorch is visible” in the stairwell in which a Confederate agent ignited a flammable liquid.

Bud’s letter points up a major problem with the miscellanea of Civil War history, that so much of it has entered the literature as to become part of the historical record. Quite a number of accounts of the Civil War indicate that Barnum’s museum was gutted by fire on November 25, 1864. In fact it was gutted by a fire several years later, which apparently became confused in some accounts with the abortive Confederate attempt to burn the place down.

PROFILE

African-Americans in Union Service

Black men were involved in some of the earliest actions of the Civil War. In fact, arguably, the first Union casualty of the war was an African-American man. Nicholas Biddle, a black freeman from Pottsville, Pennsylvania, was injured by a brickbat on April 18, 1861, when the 27th Pennsylvania, in which he was serving as an officer’s orderly, was attacked by a secessionist mob in Baltimore. This took place just one day before the more-widely publicized attack on the 6th Massachusetts.

When Lincoln issued his call for volunteers on April 15, 1861, black men as well as whites all across the North offered themselves for service. Black volunteer companies were rapidly organized in New York, Boston, and Cleveland, and a battalion began forming in Washington. However, public sentiment was by no means favorable to the notion of arming black men to fight whites. Politically, such a move would have had an explosive effect on the wavering loyalties of the slaveholding Border States—Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri. As a

result, all offers of service by blacks were rejected. Nevertheless, the Navy, which had always been integrated, at least among the "people" (i.e., the enlisted seamen, including petty officers), quietly continued to enlist blacks, who often held posts of considerable responsibility, such as gunners.

Through the first eighteen months of the war, Frederick Douglass and other black leaders kept the issue alive, though making little progress. Despite this, African-Americans began serving in the army in numerous ways. As the number of people fleeing slavery grew, "contrabands" became a commonplace feature of military life. Black men began turning up as camp servants, teamsters, and laborers, usually informally. Only gradu-

ally, as casualties mounted and as the issue of emancipation came to the fore, did the hostility toward having African-Americans serve in the ranks ease. Congress authorized the President to raise black troops in July of 1862 and formal authority to raise black regiments was granted by the War Department on August 25th of that year. By then black men had begun to pass from being informally recruited labor troops to wearing the uniform and toting the musket.

The first black unit raised for Federal service was the 1st South Carolina Volunteers, organized by Brigadier General David Hunter on the Carolina sea islands on May 7, 1862. The political outcry caused the regiment to be disbanded soon afterwards, though Company A continued in existence informally until the regiment was reactivated that November. By then, with the Emancipation Proclamation in circulation, other "colored" regiments had already mustered in. The first properly authorized black unit in Federal service was the 1st Kansas Colored Volunteers (later the 79th U.S. Colored Troops), which began organizing in July of 1862, although it was not completed for service until January of 1863.

The first full black regiment to be mustered in was the 1st Louisiana Native Guards. It had a unique lineage. Originally a unit of the Louisiana state militia, composed of free black men, it had turned out and been accepted for service when Louisiana seceded from the Union. But the regiment was never accepted for Confederate service. On state active duty at New Orleans when David Farragut brought the Union fleet up the Mississippi in April of 1862, the regiment was not ordered withdrawn when the Confederacy abandoned the city, and was soon disbanded. But after the War Department authorized the formation of black regiments, Major General Benjamin Butler, commanding at New Orleans, contacted the regiment's former officers who agreed to reactivate it for Union service. It was formally accepted on September 27, 1862.

The implementation of the Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863, removed all formal obstacles to black recruitment, though the racism of individual commanders and political leaders often impeded efforts to raise troops in particular areas.

The first black military organization to enter combat was the 1st Kansas Colored Volunteers, at Island Mounds, Missouri, on October 29, 1862. Black troops participated in an increasing number of actions over the next eight months, serving with particular distinction at the Siege of Port Hudson (May 27 – July 9 1863) and the Battle of Milliken's Bend (June 6-8, 1863), where black recruits beat off a superior Confederate force. However, public recognition was long in coming, until the black 54th Massachusetts lost over a quarter of its strength in the attempt to storm Fort Wagner, on Morris Island, S.C., on July 18, 1863.

Black troops served well, despite considerable discrimination and mistreatment. Until nearly the end of the war the pay for black enlisted men was \$10.00 a month, regardless of rank, from which \$3.00 was deducted as a clothing allowance, leaving but \$7.00, little more than half what white private soldiers earned: the 54th Massachusetts refused to accept any pay until the inequity was rectified. Moreover, black troops often found themselves doing more than their fair share of fatigue duties. They were involved in about four percent of the combat actions of the war, nearly 450 engagements, including some of the most sanguinary, such as Port Hudson (June 14, 1863) and Olustee (February 20, 1864), where casualties exceeded twenty-five percent of the forces engaged. Indeed, statistically black combat casualties were thirty-five percent higher than white, partially because of a Confederate penchant for massacring blacks captured in arms. About two dozen black men—both army and navy—earned the Medal of Honor. During the last two years of the war black troops served in every theater, and were particularly important in the Mississippi Valley, where they constituted a significant proportion of Federal forces.

Although figures as high as 230,000 have been cited for African-American enlistments in the Union armies, the actual number of men enrolled appears to have been around 180,000. The disparity between the two figures is a result of multiple-counting of men serving different enlistments. For example, a man who enlisted in the 1st Louisiana Native Guards was counted three times: Once

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upon his initial enlistment, a second time when the regiment was incorporated in the *Corps d'Afrique*, and a third time when it became part of the "United States Colored Troops," while a man serving in the 1st Kansas Colored Volunteers, was counted a second time when the regiment was redesignated the 79th United States Colored Infantry.

Table #1:

The U.S. Colored Troops, 1865

Arm	Regiments	Batteries
Infantry	137	—
Heavy Artillery	13	10
Cavalry	6	—

Overall, African-Americans amounted to about eight percent of total manpower recruited for the Union. Since most black troops served later in the war, they comprised about twelve percent of Union forces on active duty in the spring of 1865.

The figures given on table #2 represent the official accreditation of black troops to the several states and territories which recruited them. The *Residents* column gives the number of black recruits credited to each jurisdiction as a percentage of its total African-American population. *Recruits* indicates the state's number as a percentage of the total number of black men recruited. *Other* covers men recruited without being credited to the quota of any particular state. The "C" that appears after the name of a particular state indicates a Confederate State, while the "B"—for "Border State"—is for those which were represented in the Confederate Congress, but not generally considered to have seceded.

The oddly disproportionate numbers of black troops credited to some Northern and Western states was the result of those states recruiting among freedmen in the South. For example, although the 20th U.S. Colored Infantry was recruited in New York State, the bulk of black recruits credited to the state of New York were actually enlisted in the Carolinas. The famed 54th Massachusetts Infantry probably had men from more states than any other—it even included some men who deliberately came down from Canada to sign up—but all of the troops were credited to the Massachusetts quota.

Table #2:

African-American Recruiting by State and Territory

	Number	Residents	Recruits
Alabama C	4,969	1.1%	0.5%
Arkansas C	5,526	5.0%	1.3%
California	0	0.0%	0.0%
Colorado Territory	95	206.5%	0.3%
Columbia, District of	3,269	22.8%	4.4%
Connecticut	1,764	20.4%	0.4%
Dakota Territory	0	0.0%	0.0%
Delaware	954	4.4%	0.9%
Florida C	1,044	1.7%	0.7%
Georgia C	3,486	0.7%	0.3%
Illinois	1,811	23.7%	0.1%
Indian Territory	0	0.0%	0.0%
Indiana	1,537	13.4%	0.1%
Iowa	440	41.2%	0.1%
Kansas	2,080	331.7%	1.9%
Kentucky B	23,703	10.0%	2.1%
Louisiana C	24,052	6.9%	3.4%
Maine	104	7.8%	0.0%
Maryland	8,718	5.1%	1.3%
Massachusetts	3,966	41.3%	0.3%
Michigan	1,387	20.4%	0.2%
Minnesota	104	40.2%	0.1%
Mississippi C	17,869	4.1%	2.3%
Missouri B	8,344	7.0%	0.7%
Nebraska	0	0.0%	0.0%
Nevada Territory	0	0.0%	0.0%
New Hampshire	125	25.3%	0.0%
New Jersey	1,185	4.7%	0.2%
New Mexico Territory	0	0.0%	0.0%
New York	4,125	8.4%	0.1%
North Carolina C	5,035	1.4%	0.5%
Ohio	5,092	13.9%	0.2%
Oregon	0	0.0%	0.0%
Pennsylvania	8,612	5.1%	0.4%
Rhode Island	1,837	46.5%	1.1%
South Carolina C	5,462	1.3%	0.8%
Tennessee C	20,135	7.1%	1.8%
Texas C	47	<0.0%	<0.0%
Utah Territory	0	0.0%	0.0%
Vermont	120	16.9%	0.0%
Virginia C	5,919	1.1%	0.4%
Washington Territory	0	0.0%	0.0%
Wisconsin	165	14.1%	0.0%
Other	5,896	—	3.3%
TOTAL	178,977	4.0%	0.6%

Do You Know?

1. Who was Dorrence Atwater?
2. What is a *prolonge*?
3. This man was the Confederacy's highest ranking general.
4. Name of the Confederate fort outside Savannah, Georgia, taken by Hazen's division in December 1864.
5. Name of the only Union army commander killed in action.
6. Who was the Confederate commander who unconditionally surrendered his 2,500 strong force at Cumberland Gap on September 9, 1863?

TEASER QUESTION:

Who was Kensey Johns Stewart?

THE ANSWERS to questions 1-6 are below. If you know the answer to the teaser question, send it on the feedback card to the editorial address below. The author of the correct answer drawn from the *North & South* hat will receive a free book prize.

North & South
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We Do NOT Have A Winner!

For the first time, we do not have a winner for the "Teaser" competition. The Teaser question in volume 3, # 1 was "Which Union general was described as the ideal patriot, colored red, white, and blue?" The answer was Joe Hooker (above): red complexion, white hair, blue uniform.



DYK ANSWERS:

1. A Union prisoner at Andersonville who kept a secret location list of prisoners buried there, which helped in identifying many of the dead.
2. The rope attached to an artillery piece and used to drag it by hand.
3. Samuel Cooper, CSA adjutant general.
4. Fort McAllister
5. Major General James B. McPherson, killed in action at Atlanta, July 22, 1864, while in command of the Army of the Tennessee.
6. Colonel John Wesley Frazer. The Confederate senate promptly rejected his commission as brigadier general, and he spent the rest of the war as a prisoner at Fort Warren, in Boston Harbor.



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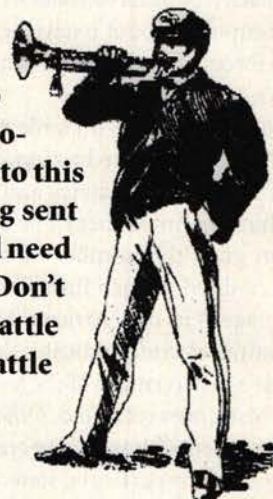
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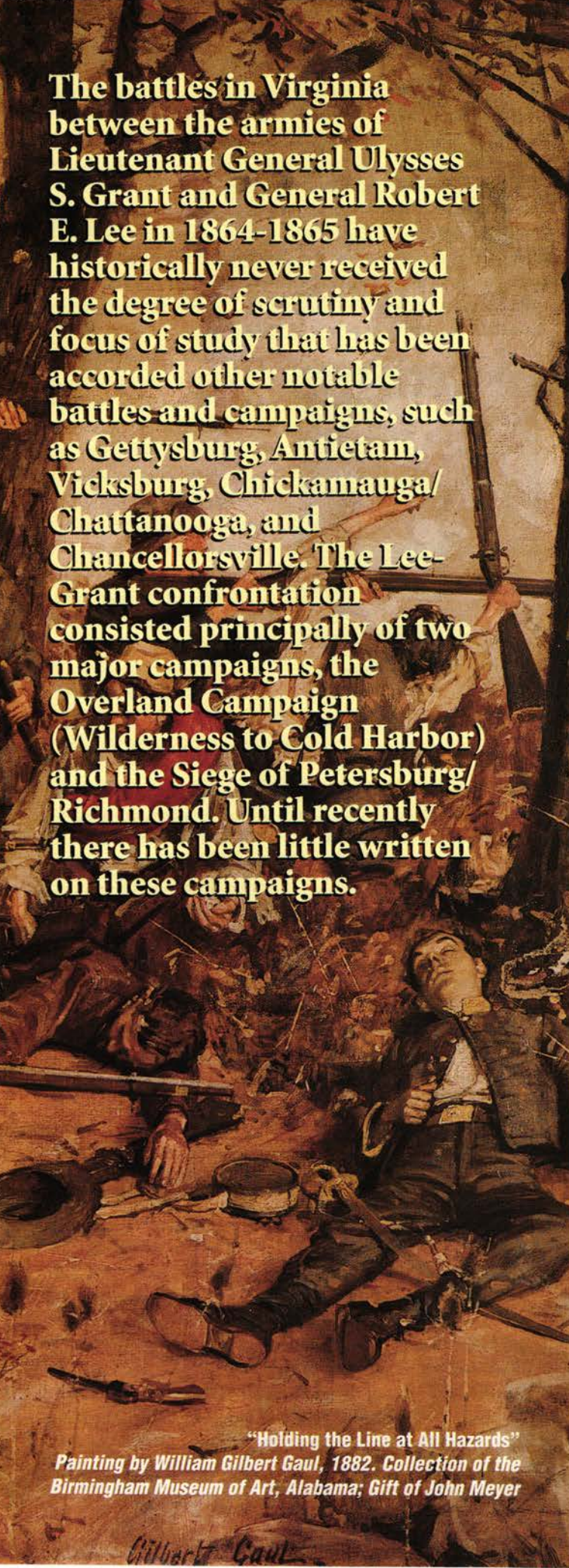
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ALFRED C. YOUNG, III

NUMBERS AND LOSSES

in the Army of Northern Virginia





The battles in Virginia between the armies of Lieutenant General Ulysses S. Grant and General Robert E. Lee in 1864-1865 have historically never received the degree of scrutiny and focus of study that has been accorded other notable battles and campaigns, such as Gettysburg, Antietam, Vicksburg, Chickamauga/Chattanooga, and Chancellorsville. The Lee-Grant confrontation consisted principally of two major campaigns, the Overland Campaign (Wilderness to Cold Harbor) and the Siege of Petersburg/Richmond. Until recently there has been little written on these campaigns.

*"Holding the Line at All Hazards"
Painting by William Gilbert Gaul, 1882. Collection of the
Birmingham Museum of Art, Alabama; Gift of John Meyer*

PERHAPS THE SHEER MAGNITUDE of the casualties incurred by the Armies of the Potomac and the James has had a discouraging effect upon northern researchers and historians, and the use of frontal assaults by Grant's forces may have been viewed as unimaginative and not worthy of detailed analysis. For the Confederates, one major difficulty has been the lack of thorough and reliable information. Furthermore, these campaigns played a major role in the ultimate triumph of the Federal forces, possibly discouraging southern historians from studying them. In recent years, however, this void has been ably filled, in part, by the work of William D. Matter, Gordon C. Rhea, Richard J. Sommers, Robert Garth Scott, J. Michael Miller, Noah Andre Trudeau, and others.

Nevertheless, there is still much that needs to be researched concerning these campaigns. Foremost is the need for accurate determination of the strength and casualties of Lee's Army of Northern Virginia during the Overland Campaign. Accurate figures concerning the Union Army's unit strengths and casualties are well-documented and are readily available for any interested researcher. Conventional wisdom has it that Union casualties were between 55,000 and 56,000, and Confederate losses were less than half of that.

Recent research, described in this article, reveals a very different picture: both the initial strength of and the losses incurred by Lee's army were significantly higher than has previously been believed.

PART ONE

The Strength of Lee's Army of Northern Virginia

THE TYPICAL HISTORICAL ACCOUNT of the campaigns of 1864 to 1865 in Virginia has the forces of Lee's Army of Northern Virginia getting the most out of limited, if not meager, manpower resources, armaments, commissary supplies, etc. before being finally overcome by the numerically superior and significantly better equipped and supplied Federal forces of Grant's Army of the Potomac. Regarding these meager manpower resources, historians have generally indicated that Lee's Army entered the Wilderness on May 5, 1864 with about one-half of the numerical strength of Grant's Army of the Potomac.

Numerical estimates for the Confederate Army at the commencement of the campaign conventionally have ranged from about 60,000 to 62,000 men. The primary source of these estimates is the April 20, 1864 Abstract of Field Returns for the Army of Northern Virginia found on pages 1097-1098 of Series I, Volume 33 of the *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion*. This is the last available return for the Confederate forces prior to May 5. The units listed as "Present for Duty" in this return are shown in *Table I*.

Excluding the HQ units and the Maryland Line (which on May 5 was posted in the rear along a principal line of communications with Richmond), the Grand Total is 52,984. This return, however, does not reflect a complete listing of all the troops assigned to the Army of Northern Vir-

ginia, nor all of the troops which entered the Wilderness on May 5 or 6, 1864. Missing are Hoke's (old) Brigade and two regiments of Rodes' Division and, more importantly, all of the infantry and three battalions of artillery from the First (Longstreet's) Corps. Pickett's Division and Read's and Eshelman's battalions of artillery were serving in the Department of North Carolina and Southern Virginia on April 20, along with the above-noted infantry units from the Second Corps. They would all in early May be transferred to the forces assembling under General P.G.T. Beauregard to defend Petersburg and Richmond against the Army of the James under Major General Benjamin F. Butler.

ary 20, February 20, March 20, April 10 and the aforementioned April 20 (*Official Records*, Series 1, Volume 33, pp. 1075, 1135, 1157, 1191, 1216, 1233-1234 and 1271). These returns, especially the last three, reveal a steady increase in the strength of the various units of the Second, Third, and Cavalry Corps during the early spring months. Judging by these muster rolls, it appears that a concerted effort was made, as one would expect, to build up the strength of Lee's Army in preparation for the anticipated 1864 spring campaign. It seems probable that these units continued to experience an increase in their ranks during the two weeks between the April 20 return and May 5.

William A. Turner Collection



Lieutenant General Longstreet and divisional commanders Charles W. Field, center (*courtesy U.S. Army Military History Institute*), and Joseph B. Kershaw (*courtesy Museum of the Confederacy*).

The other principal omissions are Field's and Kershaw's Divisions and Huger's Artillery Battalion of the First Corps. These units, along with Longstreet, were on April 20 rejoining the army from the previous fall and winter campaign in East Tennessee. Having rejoined the main army, they were reviewed by General Lee on April 29. The latest previous return available for these units in East Tennessee is dated March 31 (See *Official Records*, Series 1, Volume 32, Part 3, Abstract of Returns for the Department of East Tennessee, page 721). This is reproduced as *Table I (a)*.

The sum total of these various organizations yields 63,888 men. There is one significant problem with this total. It fails to take into consideration changes in the returns which occurred between April 20 and May 5 for the Second, Third and Cavalry Corps and between March 31 and May 5 for the First Corps. Unfortunately, the next available return for Lee's Army in the *Official Records* is dated June 30, 1864 (Series I, Volume XL, page 707). This is reproduced as *Table II*.

The June 30 return does not provide clear information which could assist in determining the overall army and individual unit strengths on or about May 5. The Second Corps is missing and there are several new units which did not start the campaign in the Army of Northern Virginia. Although not of apparent immediate benefit, however, this later return was subsequently found to be of considerable help in determining Confederate numbers during the Overland Campaign. For this reason, it has been included with this article.

One approach to determining the changes in Lee's Army between April 20 and May 5 is to examine the earlier returns in the year 1864. The available returns are dated Janu-

ary 20, February 20, March 20, April 10 and the aforementioned April 20 (*Official Records*, Series 1, Volume 33, pp. 1075, 1135, 1157, 1191, 1216, 1233-1234 and 1271). These returns, especially the last three, reveal a steady increase in the strength of the various units of the Second, Third, and Cavalry Corps during the early spring months. Judging by these muster rolls, it appears that a concerted effort was made, as one would expect, to build up the strength of Lee's Army in preparation for the anticipated 1864 spring campaign. It seems probable that these units continued to experience an increase in their ranks during the two weeks between the April 20 return and May 5.

In order to explore and confirm this assumption, it became necessary to research and categorize the personnel who accounted for this increase in the army's strength. This was accomplished by an extensive examination and compilation of the individual Compiled Service Records (CSR's) for all the units comprising the Army of Northern Virginia during this period. The CSR's consist of individually carded records for every Confederate soldier found on file in the war. They were compiled principally from available company muster rolls, hospital records, clothing issues, and Federal prisoner-of-war lists and are filed by unit alphabetically by last name. The full collection is currently housed at the National Archives in Washington, D.C. The cards for any individual soldier are available upon special request. More readily, they are available on microfilm for quick public access and study. The CSR's for each unit are typically provided on one or more microfilm reels.

The major component of the CSR's are the unit muster rolls. Ideally, these were filed every two months on the last day of the even-numbered months (February 29, April 30, June 30, etc.). Their primary purpose was to determine the status of each individual soldier for pay. The availability of these muster rolls, and the accuracy of their information, varies significantly from one unit to another. Some of the brigades in the First Corps, Hoke's Division, and the artillery, have all or most of the critical rolls for 1864 on record. Other units, such as the Second and Third Corps and the cavalry, are missing one or more rolls for this year. The least adequately documented units were two regiments from Jones' and Colquitt's Brigades. For these regiments there exist only one muster roll for the entire war, and these are for 1862. In some cases the missing rolls were lost or destroyed at the close of hostilities. In other cases, they were clearly only filed at the end of a four or six month period (such as June through August or June through October 1864); this is the case in the Second Corps and in Breckinridge's Division.

Quite apart from the fact that many are missing, there are other problems with the muster rolls. In most cases, the date on which the record was filed is recorded. Often this date is weeks or even months later than the period to which the return

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ARMY STRENGTHS

Table I ARMY of NORTHERN VIRGINIA
Strength: April 20, 1864

Army HQ	
Provost Guard (principally the 1st Bn. Va. Inf.)	320
Escort, couriers, etc. (+ 39th Bn.Va. Cav.)	230
Total	550
Second Corps (Ewell)	
Corps Staff	16
Early's Division (less Hoke's Bde)	4575
Johnson's Division	5450
Rodes' Division (less 12th Ga. and 43rd N.C.)	7188
Total	17,229
Third Corps (Hill)	
Corps Staff	16
Anderson's Division	6992
Heth's Division	7506
Wilcox's Division	7830
Total	22,344
Cavalry Corps (Stuart)	
Corps Staff	13
Hampton's Division (two brigades)	3235
F. Lee's Division (three brigades)	5309
Total	8557
Artillery	
First Corps (Cabell's Bn only)	427
Second Corps	1690
Third Corps (+ Haskell's Bn of the First Corps)	2315
Cavalry Corps	422
Total	4854
Maryland Line (at Hanover Junction)	
	810
Grand Total	54,344

Table I (a) UNITS in EAST TENNESSEE
Strength: March 31, 1864

Units	
Corps Staff	17
Kershaw's Division	4934
Field's Division (less Law's Bde)	4224
Law's Brigade (temp. att'd to Buckner's Div.)	1270*
Huger's Artillery Bn	459
Total	10,904

*Estimate provided in *Numbers & Losses in the Civil War in America: 1861-1865* by Thomas L. Livermore, p. 111.

Table II ARMY of NORTHERN VIRGINIA
Strength: June 30, 1864

Army HQ		No Report
First Corps (Anderson)		
Corps Staff	17	
Pickett's Division	4917	
Field's Division	4797	
Kershaw's Division	4546	
Total	14,277	
Second Corps (Early)		
Serving in the Shenandoah Valley		
Third Corps (Hill)		
Corps Staff	16	
Mahone's Division	5334	
Heth's Division	5636	
Wilcox's Division	4677	
Total	15,663	
Dept. of N.C. & So. Va. (Beauregard)		
Dept. Staff	12	
Hoke's Division	5309	
B. Johnson's Division	6970	
Total	12,291	
Cavalry Corps (Hampton)		
Hampton's Division	No Report, est. (3100)	
F. Lee's Division	1683	
W.H.F. Lee's Division	2867	
Dearing's Brigade	No Report, est. (1800)	
Total	4650	
Artillery		
First Corps	1609	
Second Corps (three Bns, two serving in the Valley)	640	
Third Corps	2223	
Dept. of N.C. & So. Va.	1072	
Total	5544	
Grand Total	52,325	
(or about 57,225 including the unreported Cavalry units)		

Robert E. Lee
Commander of the
Army of Northern Virginia

ostensibly refers. In many cases, it is not clear if the recorded information reflects the status of the soldier at the end of the period listed, or on the date at which the roll was filed. In other instances, two or more consecutive rolls were apparently filed on or near the same date. These anomalies sometimes create confusion as to the status of a soldier at a specific time.

There is another significant problem with the information in the muster rolls: soldiers are often marked "Present," even though careful study of hospital records reveal them to be clearly unfit for field duty or disabled. The actual status of these personnel can ultimately be determined by a careful study of all the available records for each soldier.



Left to right: Joseph Robert Davis (courtesy U.S. Army Military History Institute); Harry Thompson Hays (courtesy Museum of the Confederacy); Evander McIvor Law (courtesy Virginia Historical Society).

Where the early rolls for 1864 are missing or clearly reflect a later period in the year, it can be difficult to determine a unit's strength on or about May 5. One compensating record contained in the CSR's and found to be of benefit in filling in some of the gaps is the clothing issue. Clothes were typically issued for enlisted personnel on a quarterly basis: in the second quarter of 1864 they were issued in April. Soldiers for whom clothing was issued in April, were likely present at the commencement of the campaign in May.

The CSR's for most of the personnel in four Mississippi infantry regiments (the 2nd, 11th and 42nd of Davis' Brigade and the 21st of Humphreys' Brigade) and some of the personnel in Law's, Hays' and Stafford's Louisiana Brigades contain, in addition to the muster rolls, record of events cards. These were apparently prepared from memory after the war and incorporated with the other records. They provide the status of the soldier at each of the major engagements for his unit throughout the war. Although they may contain some errors, they were nevertheless found to be of considerable value in determining the percentages of men present for the various battles, and those temporarily sick, detached or otherwise absent from the ranks.

Returning to an earlier theme, the individual CSR's do reveal that the Army of Northern Virginia grew in strength between the last recorded return and May 5. The personnel swelling the strength of the army fell into three categories. First, there were new recruits or conscripts. The individual muster rolls for each soldier reflect the date of his enlistment and, in many cases for new personnel enlisting in 1864, the date of actual assignment to the unit. A second group were men returning from sick, wounded, or earned furlough. The third group were

exchanged prisoners-of-war. An examination of their records reveal that many men captured in battles in 1863 were exchanged between March 3 and 20, 1864. These men were usually sent to a Richmond hospital for examination and then furloughed for 30 days. Depending upon their furlough date and the possibility of overstaying the furlough several days, most of these men returned to their respective units during the period mid-April to mid-May 1864.

Judging by the various categories of men joining or returning to a unit, some conclusions can be reached. Most of the new enlistees to Lee's Army came from the States of Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina. The remaining states of the Confederacy supplied significantly fewer recruits and conscripts. Their new personnel likely went to other armies in the field, such the Army of Tennessee. Few, if any, new personnel joined Lee's Army from the Trans-Mississippi states or from Federally-occupied Tennessee. In addition, the units that sustained the heaviest casualties in 1863 appear to have experienced the greatest increases in strength, as many of the wounded and exchanged prisoners from these battles returned.

Despite the various weaknesses in the muster rolls and the individual CSR's, it has been possible to arrive at a more accurate determination of the strength of Lee's Army on or about May 5, than has hitherto been possible. This process involved compiling and tabulating the CSR's, comparing these results to the April 20, 1864, returns and developing a mathematical model for adjusting the totals to reflect personnel not actually in the ranks. The best results using this process were achieved with the Third Corps and the artillery arm.

Less satisfying results were obtained with the infantry units of the First and Second Corps and the Cavalry Corps. Each of these three organizations presented specific problems. The First Corps appears to have left a trail of detached/furloughed personnel in its movement from East Tennessee. Judging by the CSR's, most of these men eventually caught up with their commands in May or early June (during the campaign). The muster rolls for the infantry of the Second Corps and the Cavalry Corps are among the worst on record and lack consistency. For the latter arm, there was the additional problem of finding a horse. Many personnel, according to the rolls, were on April 30 still on furlough procuring a mount from their home area.

In applying this analytical method, the goal has been to obtain consistency. For the most part, this has been achieved. In some cases, assumptions varying from the norm were unavoidable and had to be made; however, the author tried to weigh in on the conservative (low) side based on the overall available data. As a further check of the accuracy of this approach, the derived strength figures were compared to the June 30 returns. Incorporating the sickness and battle losses between May 5 and June 30 together with the continuing personnel ad-

Wilderness to Petersburg: The Overland Campaign

ARMY STRENGTHS

Table III ARMY of NORTHERN VIRGINIA
Strength: May 5, 1864

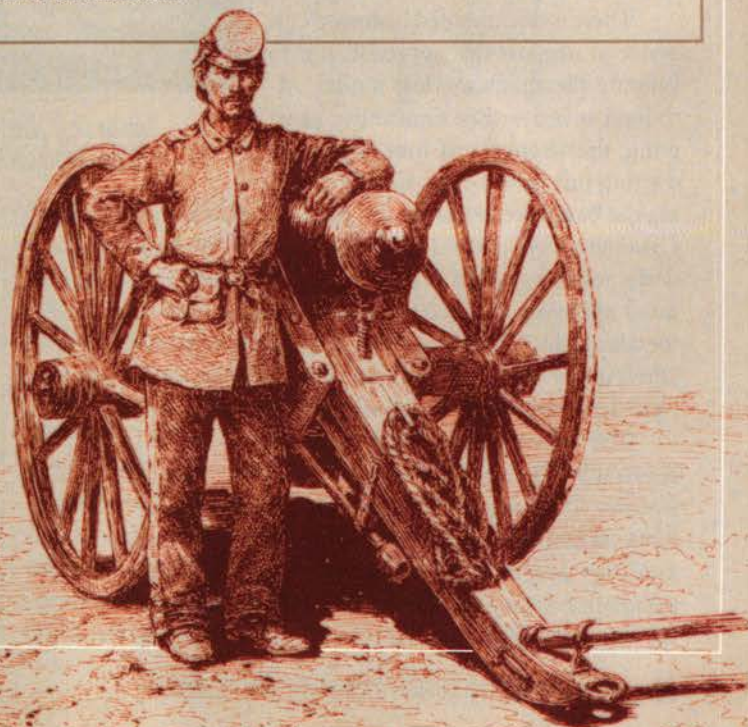
First Corps	
Field & Staff	15
Kershaw's Division	5180
(Henegan's, Humphreys', Wofford's & Bryan's Brigades)	
Field's Division	6005
(Jenkins', Gregg's, Anderson's, Benning's & Law's Brigades)	
Total	11,200
Second Corps	
Field & Staff	15
Early's Division	4700
(Gordon's, Hays' and Pegram's Brigades;	
Lewis' Brigade temporarily assigned to Beauregard)	
Johnson's Division	5485
(Stewart's, Stonewall, Jones' & Stafford's Brigades)	
Rodes' Division	7420
(Battle's, Doles', Daniels', Ramseur's & Johnston's Brigades;	
except for two regiments with Beauregard)	
Total	17,620
Third Corps	
Field & Staff	15
Provost Guard (5th Ala. Bn.)	135
Anderson's Division	7130
(Mahone's, Perrin's, Harris', Wright's & Perry's Brigades)	
Heth's Division	7445
(Cooke's, Kirkland's, Davis' & Walker/Archer's Brigades)	
Wilcox's Division	7925
(McGowan's, Thomas', Lane's & Scales' Brigades)	
Total	22,650
Field Artillery	
First Corps	1595
(Huger's, Haskell's & Cabell's Battalions)	
Second Corps	1700
(Hardaway's, Nelson's, Page's, Braxton's & Cutshaw's Bns)	
Third Corps	1910
(Poague's, Pegram's, McIntosh's, Richardson's & Cutts' Bns)	
Total	5205
Cavalry Corps	
Field & Staff	20
Hampton's Division	2475
(Young's & Rosser's Brigades)	
F. Lee's Division	3450
(Wickham's & Lomax's Brigades)	
W. Lee's Division	2905
Horse Artillery (Breathed's Battalion)	470
Total	9320
Estimated Total Army Strength (on May 5, 1864)	65,995

Table IV REINFORCEMENTS received during CAMPAIGN:
ARMY of NORTHERN VIRGINIA

Pickett's Division (of the First Corps)	
(Rejoined Lee's Army at Milford Station on May 21)	5370
Second Corps Units (rejoined their parent commands at the end of Spotsylvania)	
Hoke's (old) Brigade (under Lewis) - originally part of Early's Division	1360
From Rodes' Division (temporarily serving with Hoke's Brigade)	
21st Ga. (Doles' Brigade) and 43rd N.C. (Daniels' Brigade)	855
Total	2215
Miscellaneous Units (assigned to the Army of Northern Virginia)	
Maryland Line (primarily posted in the rear of the army until joining in late May)	
2nd Md. Inf. Bn. (eventually assigned to Walker's Brigade, Heth's Division)	285
1st Md. Cav. Rgt. (eventually went with F. Lee's Division to the Shenandoah Valley)	375
1st (Dement), 2nd (Griffin) and 4th (Chew) Md. Batteries (eventually assigned to the Third Corps and the Horse Artillery)	240
Finegan's Brigade - joined in late May (originally 1st, 2nd, 4th and 6th Fla. Bns. + three separate Fla. companies; these units reorganized June 8 to form 9th, 10th and 11th Fla.; assigned to Anderson's (Mahone's) Division)	1270
20th S. C. - joined in late May at Cold Harbor from South Carolina (assigned to Henagan's Brigade)	850
12th Ga. Bn. and one independent company (to 38th Ga.) - joined in late May at Cold Harbor from Georgia (assigned to Gordon's (Evan's) Brigade)	370 and 80
Jackson's (Va.) Battery (assigned to Horse Artillery)	95
Total	3565
Separate Commands	
Breckinridge's Division - joined at North Anna from the Shenandoah Valley (Echols' and Wharton's Brigades)	2415
Hoke's Division - joined at Cold Harbor in late May	6850
- joined in early June during the Battle of Cold Harbor (Hagood's, Clingman's, Martin's and Colquitt's Brigades)	250
Read's (38th Va.) Artillery Battalion (formerly with the First Corps in 1863; attached to Hoke's Division)	375
Total	9890
Additional Cavalry Units	
7th Ga. Rgt. and 20th Ga. Bn. to Young's Brigade (joined in late May before Cold Harbor)	985
3rd N.C. Rgt. to Gordon's (Barringer's) Brigade (joined third week of May)	550
Butler's Brigade (arrived in Virginia in May, joined the later part of the month and assigned to Hampton's Division)	1990
Miscellaneous Units (originally assigned with Beauregard's Forces but saw action in battles around Richmond in late May and early June):	
1st Md. (see Maryland Line above)	
7th S. C. (8 co's)	510
42nd Va. Bn.	420
Total	4455
Estimated Total Reinforcements to Army of Northern Virginia in the form of additional units	24,495

Table IV(a) AVERAGE INCREASE per BRIGADE
May 5 to mid-June, 1864

First Corps	
Kershaw's Division	190
Field's Division	220
Pickett's Division	60
Second Corps (as original organization)	
Early's Division	65
Johnson's Division	35
Rodes' Division	90
Third Corps	
Anderson's Division	75
Heth's Division	155
Wilcox's Division	155
Separate Commands	
Hoke's Division	70



ditions to the units, these derived figures were found to yield numbers which closely corresponded to the reported June 30 strengths.

In examining the individual CSR's, an obvious attempt has been made to include only those personnel who would have been in the ranks and engaged in battle. This excludes personnel who served in rear positions in the Field and Staff (such as quartermaster, surgeon, assistant-surgeon, chaplain, ordinance sergeant, quartermaster sergeant, and commissary sergeant), as well as band musicians, couriers, ambulance drivers, teamsters, headquarters guards, etc. On rare occasions, these personnel drew enemy fire and became casualties. In these instances, they are included with their respective company or the Field and Staff. Using this process, the estimated strength of the Army of Northern Virginia on or about May 5, 1864, is as shown in *Table III*. For purposes of simplicity, the unit strengths have been rounded off to the nearest 5 or 10. The actual individual unit strengths (if ever found) may be about 10 to 50 plus or minus for each infantry and cavalry unit and about 5 to 10, plus or minus, for each artillery battery.

It should be emphasized that the total army strength shown in *Table III* is a "Present for Duty" strength and not the actual or effective combat strength. John W. Busey and David G. Martin in their work *Regimental Strengths at Gettysburg* (Gateway Press, Inc., Baltimore, 1982) indicated that, for Lee's Army, the effective combat strength was about 94 percent of the "Present for Duty" strength for the infantry and artillery, and about 88 percent for the cavalry. This reduction reflects the absence from the battlefield of stragglers and of personnel who became sick and/or were detached close to the start of battle. An examination of the individual records for the personnel comprising the Army of Northern Virginia indicates that these assumptions are basically applicable for Lee's Army during the Overland Campaign. For cavalry employed as infantry, the effective or engaged force should be further divided by one-fourth to account for one man in four having to hold the mounts.

There is documented historical evidence to support this approach and to validate the mathematical model. Although it is a rather diminutive sampling, the strengths of four regiments starting out in the campaign or entering the battle are available. On page 400 of Volume 4 of *North Carolina Troops, 1861-1865, A Roster*, 1961-99, Louis H. Mandarin and Weymouth T. Jordan, ed., the 7th N. C. Inf. is indicated as having 27 officers and 425 enlisted men available for the campaign. This appears to be an approximation of the unit's "Present for Duty" strength and may include some men who were detached or joined/rejoined the unit after May 5.

The report of Colonel James R. Hagood of the 1st S.C. Inf. is provided on page 1069, Part I, Volume 36 of the *Official Records*. In his report, he states that 26 officers and 235 men were carried into action on May 6. The May 31 issue of *The Lancaster Ledger* printed an excerpt from a letter written by Chaplain J.N. Craig of the 5th S.C. Inf. on May 9. In this correspondence, Chaplain Craig states that his regiment went into

the last fight with 270 men. The published diary of Joseph P. Fuller of Company B, 20th Ga. Inf. similarly states that his regiment numbered 265 on May 6. These strengths are likely indicative of the effective combat strengths. Divided by the 94 percent figure, the resultant numbers compare very favorably with the "Present for Duty" figures for these three regiments.

As well as receiving additional personnel in his existing units, Lee's army was reinforced by the addition of many new units during the Overland Campaign. Many of these were drawn from General Beauregard's forces facing Butler's Army of the James. Some originally belonged to the Army of Northern Virginia, others were drawn from the military departments and commands along the Atlantic Seaboard. The strengths of these units (as they joined Lee's Army) are listed in *Table IV*.

In addition to the units listed in *Table IV*, Lee's Army continued after May 5 to receive personnel to existing units within the original table of organization. As discussed above, the strength of the Army of Northern Virginia was increased in the period leading up to the commencement of the campaign by the addition both of recruits and of personnel returning from furlough and prisoner-of-war exchange. A study of the individual personnel CSR's reveals that this process did not simply end with the start of active hostilities but continued throughout the entire year of 1864. For the cavalry arm, most of these men consisted of returnees with a new mount. For the original six brigades comprising this corps, the increase in personnel between May 5 and mid-June (after Cold Harbor/Trevillian Station) was about 120 per brigade. For Butler's S.C. Brigade, the increase (during the last part of June only) was about forty.



Left to right: Cadmus Marcellus Wilcox (courtesy Museum of the Confederacy); Robert Frederick Hoke and Henry Heth (courtesy Valentine Museum, Richmond).

For the artillery, the increase during this period averaged about 3-4 men a battery. For the infantry arm, the number of the new recruits and returning men varied considerably within the army. The average increase per brigade between May 5 and mid-June (after Cold Harbor) for each of the divisions is shown in *Table IV (a)*.

Regarding the figures in this table, it is not surprising that the largest increases occurred in the divisions of the First Corps. These divisions left a trail of men in the wake of their movement from East Tennessee. The major portion of their increases likely is reflective of this situation. Hoke's Division similarly had men come in late from earlier assignments along the Atlantic Coast. The other larger figures are associated with units which overall had large enrollments, sustained heavy casualties

in 1863 or, as with Wilcox's and part of Heth's Divisions, received large numbers of recruits in late May or early June. Many of the additional personnel in Early's Division were from Gordon's brigade.

There were other minor increases to the infantry not covered above. Hay's Louisiana Brigade (of Early's Division in the Second Corps) had, for the most part, been captured at Rappahannock Station the previous fall (November 7, 1863). Most of the captured enlisted men in this brigade were exchanged in March 1864. They represent one of the significant increases to the strength of this division between the dates April 20 and May 5. Judging by the CSR's, it appears that about 100 more men of this category returned to the brigade in May after the commencement of battle.

Secondly, the 1st Confed. Inf. Bn and the 26th Miss. Inf. had been transferred from the Department of Ala., Miss. & East La. to Davis' Brigade (of Heth's Division in the Third Corps) in the early spring. According to inspection reports filed under these units at the National Archives, the main body of these units left Demopolis, Alabama March 28 and arrived at Lee's Army on April 12-13. An examination of the CSR's reveals that about 130 men rejoined these commands in May and June.

Summarizing the above, the additions to Lee's Army from these categories were about as follows: artillery: 180; cavalry: 760; and infantry: 4,845. The total of these figures is 5785, yielding an estimated grand total of 30,280 men reinforcing Lee during this campaign.

It should be emphasized that the above figures represent the maximum total of men available to Lee during the campaign. During the campaign the cavalry arm experienced significant losses in mounts. No specific figures are available for the men who became dismounted but, judging by the rolls in the CSR's and available diaries, this figure may have been as much as one-third of original strength. In addition, there is information to indicate that many of the personnel in new units assigned to Lee's army arrived in Richmond with broken-down mounts. The best documented example of this occurred with Butler's Brigade, which rode the entire distance from South Carolina to Richmond.

Beginning with the Battle of Spotsylvania and continuing through the subsequent movement to the outskirts of Richmond, Lee's Army experienced significant deductions in strength from sickness. Figures regarding the total number of men and periods of their absence are not readily available. Individual records for some of the rear hospitals are available, but no field hospital records appear to have been compiled, or at any rate none survived the war. Judging by available data, the percentage of sick in the veteran units starting the campaign appears to be in the range of at least ten to thirteen percent. For the newly organized units or units joining the army in late-May or June (such as the 61st Ala. in Battle's Brigade, Finegan's Fla. Brigade and, to a lesser extent, the 20th S.C.), the rate of sickness is considerably higher (as much as forty-five percent).

PART TWO: CASUALTIES

ANY CIVIL WAR HISTORIAN OR RESEARCHER seriously studying the Overland Campaign will quickly discover that there are few if any reliable records regarding casualties for Lee's Army of Northern Virginia in the various battles. According to The Official Records the only units with any actual reports are five brigades (Kershaw's, Bryan's, Mahone's, Lane's and McGowan's) at the Wilderness and McGowan's Brigade at Spotsylvania. A report for Lane's Brigade for all the battles (with casualties) is presented in the March 1881 issue of the Southern Historical Society Papers.

Because of the scarcity of official figures, all casualty figures for Lee's Army in the battles of the Overland Campaign have been estimates. A quick check of available sources indicates that these range from about 10,000 to 14,000 for the Wilderness, 9,000 to 12,000 at Spotsylvania, 2,000 to 2,500 at North Anna and 1,500 to 4,000 at Cold Harbor.

A thorough examination of the individual CSR's for all the soldiers in Lee's Army reveals a further difficulty. As discussed in the previous section, many of the critical unit rolls are missing. Furthermore, Confederate company officers often filed their unit information considerably after the event, an act which caused the loss of much information. Thus, the rolls do not accurately reflect the status of personnel during the May-June 1864 period. Lastly, even where the rolls are all present and properly filed, they frequently do not show the occurrence of slight wounds. The critical May-June roll reflects the status of the soldier on June 30. If a soldier was slightly wounded in an engagement in May, sent to a hospi-

tal and returned within one to five weeks, this would not be shown on the June 30 report. This situation is especially the case with the Second Corps, which experienced much of the heaviest fighting and sustained the highest casualties at Spotsylvania.

Clearly, a study based upon historical official records and the individual CSR's will not yield the desired results with any degree of reliability. Additional sources are needed. In some cases published unit histories have filled some of this need, but only in rare cases. Fortunately, while compiling rosters from the CSR's at the National Archives and conversing with other researchers, this writer stumbled upon another and ultimately the best source, newspapers published in the South during the Civil War.

These newspapers, published in cities or large towns in areas still controlled by Confederate forces, contain lists of soldiers arranged by unit, who became casualties at specific battles or within a defined campaign. In most cases, they provide information regarding units raised from their local area or, at least, their state. Often, they open with a statement such as "For the friends and families of the ___ Regiment, here are the casualties in the late battle(s) at the ____." The listings are typically provided on a company basis. Current copies of the newspapers are found at Federal, State and local libraries or historical societies, often preserved on microfilm.

These lists reflect the status of the men at the date of the correspondence. The casualties are typically listed as killed, wounded, and missing or captured. The wounded are usually further described as mortally, painfully, seriously and

slightly. Sometimes, wounded falling into the hands of the Federal forces are indicated as wounded and missing (or captured).

Frequently, the names of the men are difficult to read or decipher. However, a comparison of the casualty listings from the newspapers with the corresponding CSR's almost always enables the researcher to identify each individual. Often, the information provided in the newspapers clears up or resolves confusing data contained in the rolls and hospital records. Sometimes, a newspaper listing will contain the names of one or more soldiers who are not in the CSR's. This doesn't necessarily indicate an error. In this case, the man (or men) was likely assigned to the unit just before the commencement of the campaign, and was quickly killed or seriously wounded and sent to the hospital before ever being officially recorded in the unit. As might be expected, this occurs most frequently in units where many of the rolls are missing or where they were filed well after the period to which they refer.

Taken together, the CSR's/rolls and the newspaper listings have been found to yield surprisingly accurate and complete results. The first source usually provides a more long-term resolution to the status of a soldier, for example whether a man who was listed as "missing" was killed or captured, or whether a seriously wounded man subsequently died. The CSR's are a good guide to which men ultimately returned to their unit. The second source, the newspapers, often list men who were slightly wounded, and thereby fill in one of the major weaknesses of the CSR's/rolls.

In comparing the data provided by the unit rolls and the newspaper lists, there are occasionally conflicts found in the dates or even battles in which a soldier became a casualty. In these cases, the newspaper is typically considered to be more accurate, because its casualty list had been generated closer to the date of the battle than that contained in the CSR. To further ensure accuracy, a close check of all available records (such as hospital records in the CSR's) together with the unit's battle history has been made to determine the likely date in cases in which there is a conflict.

Personal diaries have been found to be an excellent supplemental source of information. Usually the individual writers are very descriptive of the actions and circumstances experienced by their units in the various battles. In many instances, they provide nominal listings of casualties sustained in these actions.

Casualties have been divided into four categories: killed/mortally wounded; wounded; wounded and missing; and missing. Newspaper lists of soldiers killed have been checked against the CSR's and other available records. This was necessary because some of the newspaper accounts list a soldier as having been killed in action, while the CSR's reveal that he was in fact captured.

The definition of "mortally wounded" is open to some debate. Many soldiers wounded in action later died anywhere from one day to several months after being wounded. This researcher considered a soldier mortally wounded if he died within four days of being wounded, or within a week if he sustained an obviously life-threatening wound (such as in the head, neck or abdomen). The four day period was chosen because this was the time typically needed to move a seriously



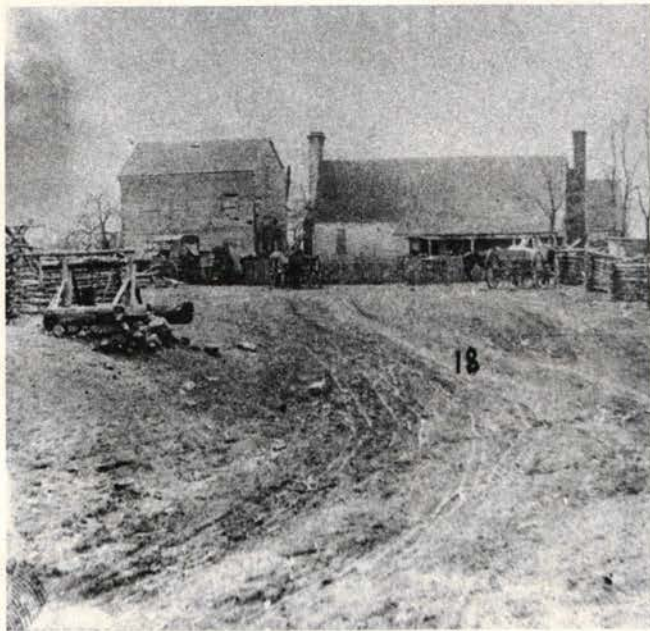
PHOTOGRAPHS BY JOANNA McDONALD

wounded soldier to a rear hospital. Once in a rear hospital, the regimental/battalion surgeon or adjutant could not easily keep track of the man's status.

The category designated "wounded," is the one where there is the most room for individual interpretation, conjecture, and debate. Where they are reasonably complete, the rolls in the CSR's clearly reflect the moderately to seriously wounded. These men are usually indicated as being on wounded furlough. If the rolls fail to divulge the date or location of the sustained wound, the accompanying hospital records usually provide some reasonable clue as to this information.

On the other hand, the rolls usually fail to list slight wounds. Given the format of the rolls, a soldier who was wounded early in the campaign, hospitalized for one to five weeks and ultimately returned to the ranks in mid-May to June would not be reported as wounded. If the rolls for 1864 are in part missing or filed at a later date to cover more than the standard two month interval (as is prevalent in the Second Corps), the omission of slight wounds is even more likely. This problem could possibly have been solved by reference to records from field hospitals; however, no such records for the Army of Northern Virginia appear to have survived.

Another reason why slight wounds are often not listed is that General Lee ordered that slightly wounded personnel who were not incapacitated and who returned quickly to the ranks should not be counted among the casualties (see Lee's order in the *Official Records*, Volume 25, Part 2, page 798).



Opposite: A post war photograph of Ewell's earthworks along the edge of Saunders' field, scene of desperate fighting in the Wilderness.

Above: Todd's Tavern at the junction of Brock and Catharpin roads, after the war. (MOLLUS Collection, U.S. Army Military History Institute)

I believe that slightly wounded soldiers *do* need to be included among the wounded, because a check of subsequent records (such as muster rolls and hospital records) reveal that many of these men were subsequently sent to a hospital, furloughed, and were absent for periods ranging from one month to the remainder of the war. For purposes of this study, then, a soldier is considered to have been wounded if he is listed as such on the muster rolls, is admitted to a hospital in the rear, or is listed in a newspaper as wounded (regardless of the severity). As a general rule, a wounded man in the rear will miss at least one day of combat.

A number of soldiers became casualties twice during this campaign. The number is relatively small, typically amounting to about five to ten per brigade. The most prominent example is Captain C. Seton Fleming of Co. G, 2nd Fla. Inf. of Perry's Brigade. Captain Fleming received a contusion wound to the abdomen while serving as the brigade assistant inspector general at the Wilderness on May 6, 1864. This condition was reported in a casualty list for his brigade in the June 2, 1864 issue of the *Savannah Republican*. He returned to duty sometime in late May or at the beginning of the battle of Cold Harbor and was killed in an ill-fated attempt to regain the skirmish line after the massive Federal assault on June 3.

The category of "missing" presents an entirely different set of problems for the researcher. Some men are listed on the individual muster rolls as missing in action, but there is no corresponding Federal prisoner-of-war record. In these cases, three explanations are possible. First, the Federal clerk failed to note their names or their units. Second, these men may have deserted during the heat of battle, never to be seen again. Third, they were killed but their deaths were not observed by fellow soldiers. In the absence of any additional information, these men have simply been referred to as missing.

Using all of the above sources, total casualties for Lee's Army of Northern Virginia during the Overland Campaign are shown in *Tables V through XI*. The results are provided chronologically by battle, and are presented for the infantry by division, for the cavalry by corps, and for the artillery as a single grouping. The numbers are classified as follows: number killed in action (with number mortally wounded); number wounded in action (with number subsequently died of wounds and/or complications); number wounded and captured (with number subsequently died); and missing in action.

WILDERNESS (May 5-7, 1864)

With the exception of one regiment in Field's Division (15th Ga. of Benning's Brigade), several regiments in Jones' and Walker's (Stonewall) Brigades of Johnson's Division, and Rosser's cavalry brigade, the figures for the Wilderness (*Table V*) are all substantiated with individual names. In the case of the exceptions, the totals were slightly increased to reflect figures given in appropriate diaries or to compensate in cases where a less-complete newspaper listing or diary with a partial list were the only available sources. In the latter cases, the increases were made only after a careful comparison of the killed/wounded ratios in all the units in the same brigade or regiment. In each case, the increase was minimal. Overall, the increase to the total army loss was about 1.5 percent.

Judging by an evaluation of the figures for the remaining units, it is possible that the total loss for the army was actually higher than indicated above. For example, some of the units in Heth's Division reported substantial numbers of slightly wounded, while other units in the same command listed very few. The researcher may conclude that the proportion of slightly wounded in all these units would in fact have been similar, thus producing a higher total loss.

The total number of casualties for this battle is close to some of the more conventional estimates of 10,000 to 12,000. A study of the breakdown of the figures reveals much about the severity of action. Clearly, the most desperate fighting occurred on the Confederate right flank where the infantry of the First and Third Corps participated. Heth's and Wilcox's Divisions were on the defense throughout most of the battle, and their low killed to wounded ratio reflects this. The highest proportion of casualties in these divisions was sustained by the brigades of Cooke and Davis. The ratio of killed to wounded for Kershaw's, Field's and (to a lesser extent) Anderson's Divisions is higher. The highest proportion of casualties in these three divisions was sustained by the brigades of Gregg and Perry. With the exception of Wright's and Harris's Brigades, the remainder of these units also suffered moderate losses.

For the Second Corps, the highest percentage of casualties was recorded in Jones' Brigade. Moderate casualties were also sustained by Battle's, Doles', Gordon's and Hays' Brigades. Most of these units were heavily engaged during the opening assault by the Federal V Corps on May 5. The figures for the cavalry corps include the action at Todd's Tavern on May 7. The heaviest loss on May 5 and 6, by far, was sustained by Rosser's Brigade on the army's right flank against Federal Cavalry. Fitz Lee's Division suffered most of the cavalry casualties on May 7 at Todd's Tavern.

SPOTSYLVANIA (May 8-21, 1864)

As with the Wilderness, the totals for Spotsylvania (see *Table VI*) were slightly increased to reflect the fact that the numbers were obtained from incomplete sources. These adjustments were deemed necessary in only elements of two brigades (Jones' and Walker's) in Johnson's Division of the Second Corps. The increase consisted of only three-tenths of one percent.

The above total of about 12,450 casualties is somewhat higher than many of the conventional estimates. The numbers of killed and wounded are not appalling (by Civil War standards), but the number of unwounded missing is over 5700. By far the majority of these men were captured on May 12 at the "Bloody Angle." Most of the remaining missing or prisoners were taken on May 10 (during Upton's charge) and May 19-20 (following the action at Harris Farm).

An examination of the figures for this battle reveals that the casualties were not evenly distributed. The loss in the Second Corps is in the region of fifty percent. Johnson's Division, which was overwhelmed at the "Bloody Angle" during the morning of May 12, was decimated. The casualties in Early's and Rodes' Divisions are also extremely high, especially in the units (Doles' and Daniel's Brigades) which were heavily engaged in the actions of both May 10 and 12. As evidenced in the above table, the losses in the First Corps and in most units of the Third Corps were relatively light. The exceptions to this were the brigades of the latter command which were heavily engaged in the battle on May 12 (the brigades of McGowan, Harris and Lane). Most of the loss in the artillery arm occurred in the Second Corps batteries on May 10 and 12.



Spotsylvania Court House. In the early hours of May 8, Confederate troops narrowly won the race to this critical crossroads village. (MOLLUS Collection, U.S. Army Military History Institute, Carlisle)

SHERIDAN'S RICHMOND RAID (May 9-24, 1864)

The principal casualties to the cavalry during Sheridan's raid were sustained by Fitz Lee's division at Yellow Tavern on May 12. The infantry units engaged consisted of elements of the brigades of Hunton and Corse (of Pickett's Division) and Gracie's Brigade (of Alabama troops) and the 25th Va. (City) Battalion from the Richmond Garrison. Casualties are shown in *Table VII*.

NORTH ANNA (includes the actions at Guinea Station and Milford Station, May 20-26, 1864)

The Second Corps was reorganized at Spotsylvania, with changes in leadership and brigade assignments. Several brigades in Johnson's Division were also combined together because of the heavy casualties they had sustained in the Wilderness and in particular at Spotsylvania. For purposes of clarity and brevity, the new realignment and organization of this corps is ignored in the tables accompanying this article. Breckinridge's Division, which joined Lee's Army from the Shenandoah Valley, was temporarily attached to the Second Corps.

During this phase of the campaign, many of the missing were stragglers picked up by the Federal Army during its movement from Spotsylvania. Most of the casualties sustained by Pickett's division occurred on May 21 at Milford Station. Most of Kershaw's losses occurred at the Chesterfield Bridge on the evening of May 23. By far, the heaviest casualties sustained by any unit in this battle were those of Wilcox's division at Jericho Mill on the evening of the same day. The casualty figures in *Table VIII* include those for the actions at Guinea Station and Milford Station, May 20-26, 1864.

TOTOPOTOMOY, BETHESDA CHURCH AND CAVALRY ACTIONS (May 27-31)

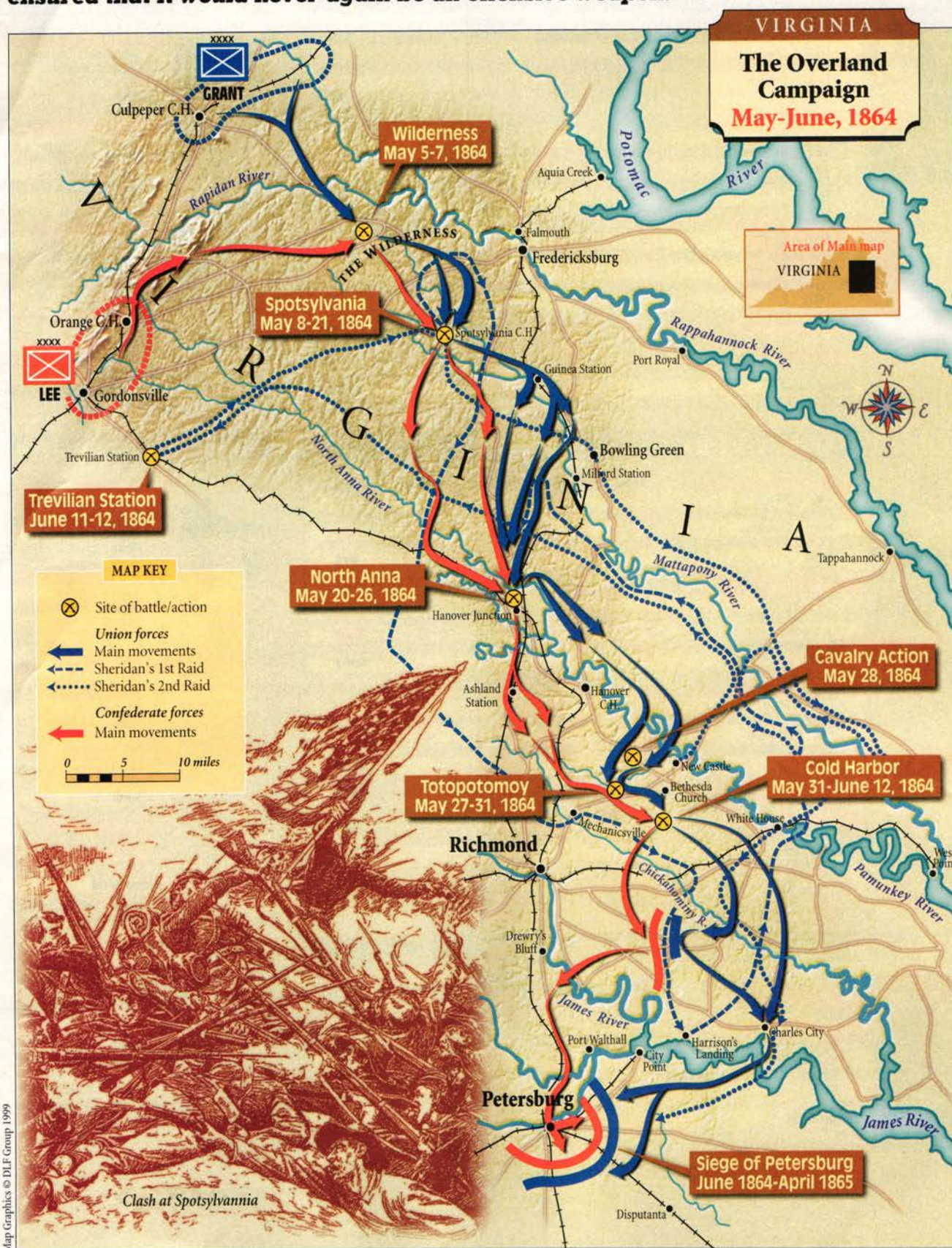
The principal infantry battles during the last days of May involved the Second Corps on May 30 at Bethesda Church and the Mechanicsville Road. Pegram's Brigade of Early's (Ramseur's) Division especially was punished heavily. The Cavalry Corps fought Federal Cavalry on every day during this five day period. The most severe engagements occurred at Hawes Shop on May 28 (resulting in at least 362 casualties) and at Old Church on May 30 (resulting in at least 221 casualties). For many of the cavalry regiments engaged in these actions, no newspapers listings were found. As a result, the total number of their casualties could be higher than shown in *Table IX*.

COLD HARBOR (May 31-June 12, 1864)

In order to render comparisons easier, the original organization of the Second Corps has been retained in *Table X*. The casualties for Finegan's Brigade, newly arriving from Florida, are included with Mahone's Division of the Third Corps.

Most of the casualties sustained by Lee's Army at Cold Harbor were incurred as follows. First on the evening of June 1, when the Federal VI Corps assaulted and broke the Confederate line at the junction of Kershaw's and Hoke's Divisions on the army's right. Second on the Confederate left flank, where the Second Corps and Heth's and Mahone's Divisions of the

The Army of Northern Virginia in the years of 1862-63 was a splendid weapon of war—however, the attrition suffered by Lee's Army during the Overland Campaign ensured that it would never again be an offensive weapon.



Wilderness to Petersburg: The Overland Campaign

CASUALTIES

Table V WILDERNESS

May 5-7, 1864



	Killed	Wounded	Wounded & Captured	Missing	Totals
First Corps					
Field & Staff	0	3	0	0	3
Kershaw's Division	195 (27)	891 (64)	13	39	1138
Field's Division	273 (42)	1447 (73)	38 (4)	155	1913
Total					3054
Second Corps					
Field & Staff	No Loss				0
Early's Division	112 (19)	465 (30)	31	134	742
Johnson's Division	151 (17)	681 (27)	34	365	1231
Rodes' Division	127 (11)	455 (21)	13 (4)	135	730
Total					2703
Third Corps					
Field & Staff	0	1	0	0	1
Anderson's (Mahone's) Div.	113 (18)	462 (21)	20 (1)	130	725
Heth's Division	246 (33)	1702 (90)	36 (9)	304	2288
Wilcox's Division	179 (30)	1083 (85)	48 (9)	405	1715
Total					4729
Cavalry Corps	92 (13)	471 (24)	5	35	603
Field and Horse Artillery	7 (1)	29	0	0	36
Grand Total					11,125

WILDERNESS

Table VI SPOTSYLVANIA

May 8-21, 1864



	Killed	Wounded	Wounded & Captured	Missing	Totals
First Corps					
Field & Staff	No Loss				0
Kershaw's Division	94 (11)	313 (64)	13	39	489
Field's Division	76 (14)	327 (22)	2 (1)	25	430
Pickett's Division (w/ F & S)	0	1	0	0	1
Total					920
Second Corps					
Field & Staff	0	2	0	0	2
Early's Division	197 (32)	577 (41)	71 (15)	587	1432
Johnson's Division	126 (17)	308 (23)	89 (3)	2745	3268
Rodes' Division	398 (81)	1358 (94)	143 (32)	1468	3365
Total					8067
Third Corps					
Field & Staff	No Loss				0
Mahone's Division	199 (31)	658 (51)	36 (10)	136	1029
Heth's Division	79 (16)	342 (22)	3 (1)	23	447
Wilcox's Division	210 (27)	556 (42)	69 (15)	444	1279
Total					2755
Cavalry Corps	42 (2)	163 (8)	6	37	248
Field and Horse Artillery	48 (6)	178 (10)	20 (8)	215	461
Grand Total					12,451

SPOTSYLVANIA

Table VII SHERIDAN'S RICHMOND RAID

May 9-24, 1864



	Killed	Wounded	Wounded & Captured	Missing	Totals
Cavalry Corps	54 (11)	244 (16)	7 (2)	161	466
Other Units					
Field & Horse Artillery	1	17	0	14	32
Infantry (Richmond Garrison)	16 (5)	54 (6)	0	1	71
Pickett's Div. (Richmond Gar.)	6 (3)	38 (4)	1 (1)	1	46
Misc. Infantry (Heth's Div.)	0	0	1	1	1
Grand Total					616

Table VIII NORTH ANNA*



First Corps	Kershaw's Division	Field's Division	Pickett's Division	Total	
Second Corps	Early's Division	Johnson's Division	Rodes' Division	Breckinridge's Div. (att'd)	Total
Third Corps	Mahone's Division	Heth's Division	Wilcox's Division	Total	
Cavalry Corps					
Field and Horse Artillery					
Grand Total					

NORTH ANNA

*Including the actions Guinea Station and Milford Station

Table IX TOTOPOTOMOY*



First Corps	Kershaw's Division	Field's Division	Pickett's Division	Total
Second Corps	Early's Division	Johnson's Division	Rodes' Division	Total
Third Corps	Mahone's Division	Heth's Division	Wilcox's Division	Total
Unassigned Troops	Breckinridge's Division	Maryland Line	Total	
Cavalry Corps				
Field and Horse Artillery				
Grand Total				

TOTOPOTOMOY

BETHESDA CHURCH

*Including the battle at Bethesda Church and cavalry actions

LEGEND

	Killed	Wounded
Killed in action	80 (4)	60 (8)
Mortally wounded		
Wounded in action		
Subsequently died of wounds and/or complications		

May 20-26, 1864

Killed	Wounded	Wounded & Captured	Missing	Totals
8	53 (3)	1	63	125
10 (1)	42 (3)	0	28	80
3	25	3	84	109
			314	
0	10	0	64	74
0	1	0	8	9
10 (3)	51 (7)	1	24	86
0	4	0	1	5
			174	
22 (2)	74 (9)	0	54	150
4 (1)	30 (2)	1	69	104
58 (8)	345 (42)	10 (3)	316	729
			983	
6	18 (1)	2	22	46
5 (1)	27 (2)	0	1	33
			1550	

May 27-31, 1864

Killed	Wounded	Wounded & Captured	Missing	Totals
0	5	0	2	7
10 (2)	25	0	3	38
3 (1)	10	0	2	15
			60	
54 (13)	143 (13)	29 (10)	73	299
2	18 (1)	0	5	25
41 (6)	186 (14)	3	48	278
			602	
5 (3)	11	0	9	25
1 (1)	4	1	3	9
7 (3)	21 (2)	0	8	36
			70	
7 (1)	27 (1)	1 (1)	38	73
0	1	0	0	1
			74	
120 (35)	412 (37)	48 (6)	176	756
7	22	0	0	29
			1591	

Wounded & Captured	Missing	Totals
12 (4)	18	759
	Missing in action	
	Subsequently died	
	Wounded and captured	

Table X COLD HARBOR

May 31-June 12, 1864



	Killed	Wounded	Wounded & Captured	Missing	Totals
First Corps					
Kershaw's Division	99 (22)	353 (14)	11	235	698
Field's Division	68 (5)	177 (5)	0	9	254
Pickett's Division	35 (11)	239 (14)	3 (1)	31	308
Total					1260
Second Corps					
Early's (Ramseur's) Division	58 (9)	260 (18)	1	30	349
Johnson's Division	16 (2)	66 (4)	0	4	86
Rodes' Division	51 (10)	223 (19)	1 (1)	8	283
Total					718
Third Corps					
Mahone's Division	102 (12)	431 (38)	1	22	556
Heth's Division	87 (17)	417 (45)	6 (1)	53	563
Wilcox's Division	14 (5)	73 (10)	0	15	102
Total					1221
Unassigned Troops					
Hoke's Division	151 (21)	593 (49)	34 (16)	463	1241
Breckinridge's Division	15 (2)	107 (6)	8	196	325
Maryland Line	6	36 (3)	0	0	42
Total					1608
Cavalry Corps	34 (7)	163 (11)	2	54	253
Field and Horse Artillery	47 (8)	175 (19)	0	12	234
Grand Total					5294

Table X(a) TREVILIAN RAID

June 7-24 1864



	Killed	Wounded	Wounded & Captured	Missing	Totals
Cavalry Corps	80 (6)	360 (40)	1	318	759
Horse Artillery	3	20 (3)	0	0	23
Grand Total					782

Table XI OVERLAND CAMPAIGN: SUMMARY



	Killed	Wounded	Wounded & Captured	Missing	Totals
First Corps					
Field & Staff	0	3	0	0	3
Kershaw's Division	396 (60)	1615 (107)	33	413	2457
Field's Division	437 (64)	2018 (103)	40 (5)	220	2715
Pickett's Division	48 (15)	312 (18)	7 (1)	112	479
Total	881 (139)	3948 (228)	80 (6)	745	5654
Second Corps					
Field & Staff	0	2	0	0	2
Early's Division	421 (73)	1455 (102)	132 (25)	888	2896
Johnson's Division	295 (36)	1074 (55)	123 (3)	3127	4619
Rodes' Division	625 (111)	2273 (155)	161 (37)	1683	4742
Total	1341 (220)	4804 (312)	416 (65)	5698	12,259
Third Corps					
Field & Staff	0	1	0	0	1
Mahone's Division	441 (66)	1636 (119)	57 (11)	351	2485
Heth's Division	417 (68)	2495 (159)	47 (11)	453	3412
Wilcox's Division	468 (76)	2078 (181)	127 (27)	1188	3861
Total	1326 (210)	6210 (459)	231 (49)	1992	9759
Additional Infantry Troops					
Hoke's Division	151 (21)	593 (49)	34 (6)	463	1241
Breckinridge's Division	22 (3)	140 (7)	8	235	405
Md Line & Richmond Gar.	22 (5)	91 (9)	0	1	114
Total	195 (29)	824 (65)	42 (6)	699	1760
Cavalry Corps & Att'd Units	348 (68)	1471 (97)	70 (8)	485	2374
Field and Horse Artillery	115 (16)	448 (31)	20 (8)	242	825
Grand Army Total 1	4,206 (682)	17,705 (1192)	859 (142)	9861	32,631
Grand Army Total 2*	4,313 (695)	18,153 (1238)	861 (134)	10,181	33,508

*Including the battles at Kenon's Landing and Trevilian Station

Third Corps engaged the Federal V and IX Corps over the course of several days. Third at the breakthrough in Breckinridge's Divisional front during the massive and costly Federal assault on June 3. For the cavalry, more than half of the loss incurred during this battle was sustained in the action at Ashland on June 1.



Major Caleb Smith, 49th Virginia (left) and First Lieutenant Romulus Cox, 52nd North Carolina were among the wounded who returned to the ranks for the Overland Campaign.
(courtesy Museum of the Confederacy)

It is possible that the casualties for the later battles (*i.e.*, Spotsylvania to Cold Harbor) have been inflated at the expense of the earlier actions (principally Wilderness and the first week of Spotsylvania). This is due primarily to difficulties in determining the dates/battles in which some of the wounded became casualties. Where only hospital records are available, the dates used for these men are based upon their first recorded entry to a hospital with the wound. Many of the men may have been sent to another hospital first or have been held for some time at a field hospital, causing difficulty in determining the original date of their wounding.

In addition to the above-listed battles, there are two other engagements which, depending upon interpretation, could be included with the Overland Campaign. The first occurred at Kenon's (or Wilson's Wharf) Landing on the James River on May 24. In this action, elements of the Cavalry Corps assaulted troops actually belonging to the Army of the James. The second engagement was Sheridan's Second or Trevilian Raid (June 7-24, 1864). The losses for these two engagements are shown at Table X (a).

THE CAMPAIGN

Table XI gives the total number of casualties sustained by Lee's Army of Northern Virginia during the Overland Campaign, as revealed by this author's research. Exclusive of Kenon's Landing and Trevilian Station the grand total of casualties in all categories is 32,631. Including the latter two engagements brings the grand total to 33,508.

These figures should not be viewed as a complete and accurate representation of the casualties sustained by the Confederate forces during the Overland Campaign. Given the limitations in source materials that survived the war, this finite total will likely never be known. However, the above data provides a relatively accurate tabulation of these numbers. With the exception of several small additional estimates (noted

above) where reference/source material was limited or unavailable, the various numbers can be substantiated with individual/nominal lists by unit. The actual figures for the Confederate casualties are probably somewhat higher.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Several conclusions can be drawn from studying Lee's strengths and casualties during the Overland Campaign. First, it is apparent that Lee's Army was stronger than has previously been believed. The strength of the army at the start of the campaign was about 66,000 or four thousand higher than the traditional figure of 62,000. Second, Lee's army was reinforced very substantially during the campaign, the total of additional men exceeding 30,000. The combined figure of 96,000 represents the maximum number of men available to Lee. Countering factors included substantial losses due to sickness, and a reduction in the strength of the cavalry owing to the loss of mounts during the campaign.

A comparison of Lee's and Grant's strengths and losses is instructive. As documented in the *Official Records* (Series I, Volume 33, pages 1036 and 1045), the Army of the Potomac started the campaign with an effective strength of about 118,000 men, from which, if we are to compare like with like, should be deducted the 3,400 men of the provost guard and engineers. According to figures provided on pages 665-666 of Volume 36, Part 3 of the same reference, Grant's army received about 48,000 reinforcements during the Overland Campaign. These principally consisted of units drawn from the Washington defenses, units returning from furlough, and new recruits. According to Major General William F. Smith, he brought about 16,000 men in the XVIII Corps to Grant at Cold Harbor. At the same time, it should be recognized that Grant's army lost about 20,000 men whose term of enlistment expired. (See *R.E. Lee The Soldier* by Sir Frederick Barton Maurice, page 241). These men represented a serious loss, for they were all veteran soldiers. Grant's net increase then is about 44,000 men. The initial disparity in numbers between the Federal and Confederate armies decreased as the campaign progressed, especially in June.

The casualty figures for Lee's army are certainly larger than any previously reported. They are particularly high among the eight infantry divisions which entered the Wilderness and formed the backbone of the army (Kershaw and Field of the First Corps, and those of the Second and Third Corps). The total loss in this campaign was greater than anything previously experienced by the army. Furthermore, when one considers only the battles of the first fifteen days (Wilderness, Spotsylvania and Sheridan's Richmond Raid) and the original size of Lee's Army, the loss sustained during this period (about 24,000 of 66,000) exceeds even the campaigns of Gettysburg and the Seven Days. In each of these earlier campaigns, the Army of Northern Virginia sustained over 20,000 casualties, but from a decidedly larger force.

One can draw important conclusions about the quality of the individual corps at the end of the Overland Campaign by glancing at the casualties of their various divisions. The infantry of the Second Corps lost at least 12,450 men of an estimated maximum number of 21,200, a loss of almost sixty percent. This loss is appalling, considering that this organization

received reinforcements of only about 3,600 men, and that the bulk of the casualties were sustained by about 17,670 men. Johnson's Division, which was largely overrun and destroyed at Spotsylvania on May 12, leads all the divisions, with almost 84 percent losses. Rodes' Division clearly saw more than its fair share of fighting during the campaign.

On top of the personnel losses, the Second Corps also lost one of three division commanders, nine of thirteen brigade commanders and the majority of its field and line officers. In the view of many historians, the Second Corps was never the same after this. Yet, despite its terrible losses, this corps continued to function in the summer and fall of 1864, contending against very heavy odds when opposing Sheridan in the Shenandoah Valley. At this stage of the war, it must have had a fundamentally strong organization, discipline and spirit. After the Third Battle of Winchester (September 19, 1864), however, one could view the performance of this corps as failing to live up to previous standards.

Because the divisions of the First and Third Corps sustained fewer casualties, a case can be made for asserting that they emerged from the campaign with their organizations and fighting capabilities relatively intact. On the other hand, a close examination of the unit rosters reveals that these units (and all of the infantry for that matter) lost very heavily in line officers, noncommissioned officers and many of their best men.

As far as the cavalry and artillery are concerned, their losses were not nearly as high as the infantry; however, overall losses of 800 in the artillery and between 2,300 and 3,200 in the cavalry were unheard of until this campaign. If the loss in mounts is taken into account, the Overland Campaign may have cost the cavalry at least fifty percent of its effective strength.

The Army of Northern Virginia in the years of 1862-63 was a splendid weapon of war, capable of both strategic and tactical offensive operations. By the close of the Battle of Cold Harbor in mid-June 1864, however, the army was no longer able to operate at its earlier level of proficiency, nor could it pose a major offensive threat to the Federal war effort. This was partly due to the fact that after Cold Harbor Lee's forces were tied down by the immediate need to defend Richmond. This alone limited Lee's options and insured that Grant would continue to possess the initiative. But even without the perceived need to defend Richmond, the attrition suffered by Lee's Army during the Overland Campaign ensured that it would never again be an offensive weapon.

There were local Confederate successes in battles around Petersburg in June, July, August and September. Most of these were in the nature of counterattacks, and their success was due in large part to Federal blunders and mismanagement rather than to Confederate skill. If the campaign of Gettysburg in 1863 caused the beginning of the decline in the overall offensive capability of the Army of Northern Virginia, the Overland Campaign marked the completion of this process. □

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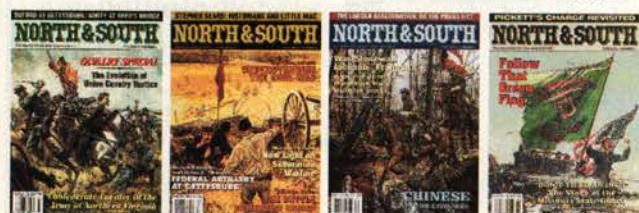


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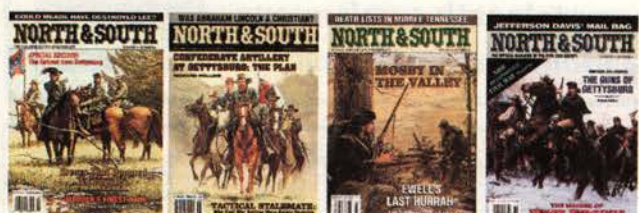


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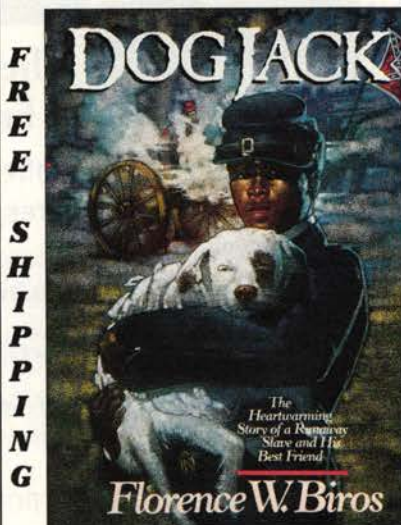
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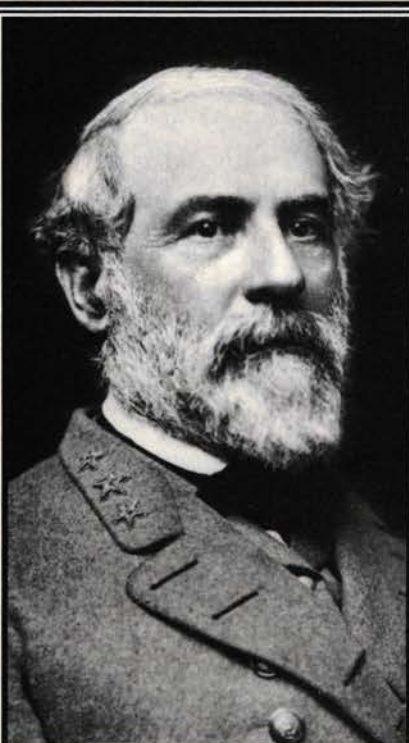


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"SHANKS"

PORTRAIT OF A GENERAL

Sound the bugles, roll the drums, wave the banners, shout out the loudest huzzas for the gallant Evans and his spartan band at Leesburg. Let every voice in the South give its tribute of praise to the determined pluck of the Virginians and Mississippians, who, with a brave leader and against grave odds, drove the Lincolnites before them into the Potomac... one full regiment from each State should be sent up to "Shanks Evans," with orders to take Washington.

Charleston Mercury, November 1, 1861

**Jason H. Silverman, Samuel N. Thomas, Jr.,
and Beverly D. Evans, IV**

Above: Nathan George Evans, courtesy the Evans family collection.
Background: The stone bridge defended by Evans at First Bull Run.
Courtesy Chris Heisey, photographer

History has not been kind to Nathan George Evans, the Confederate general nicknamed "Shanks" as a youth because of his spindly legs. Portrayed as a dark, brooding, self-absorbed figure whose military career plummeted during the Civil War due perhaps to alcoholism or perhaps to insubordination, Evans, the commander of the Tramp Brigade, has truly never had his day in the court of history. Since his death in 1868, at the age of forty-four, the historical record has relied for the most part upon what others have said about the general and his behavior. Virtually all biographical sketches of Evans touch on the salient events of his life, only to conclude that primary material on him is sketchy at best, nonexistent at worst.

HOWEVER, a rather different picture of General Evans emerges when he is allowed to speak for himself. Certainly the Shanks Evans that appears is not the overwhelmingly vain, arrogant, defiant figure that has plagued his legacy. And, thanks to the Evans family, the general's personal and family papers were made available for the first time for this article, and for our forthcoming full-length biography of Evans, *Shanks: The Life of Nathan George Evans* (Savas Publishing Company, 2000).

In this article we have concentrated on Evans's Civil War years. But even prior to the war Shanks had earned himself a reputation as a rather brave fighter. Born in Marion, South Carolina, in 1824, Evans later graduated from Randolph-Macon College at the age of seventeen, before entering West Point upon the personal endorsement of John C. Calhoun. Evans' performance at the "Point" was less than impressive: he graduated at the bottom of his class in 1848. However, on the frontier Evans established himself quickly as a fighter, and facing the Plains Indians in combat he performed with bravery and distinction, rising rapidly to the rank of captain. At the Battle of Wachita Village in October 1858, his command defeated a large group of Comanche Indians. In hand to hand fighting, Evans killed two noted chiefs, an action for which the South Carolina legislature voted him a "handsome sword."

On the eve of the secessionist crisis, with Barnard Bee as his Best Man, Evans married Ann Victoria "Vic" Gary, sister of future Confederate Brigadier General Martin Witherspoon Gary and member of the prominent South Carolina Gary family. Sizing up the secessionist sentiment in his state, Shanks soon thereafter cast his fate with the Confederacy.

South Carolina severed its ties with the Union on December 20, 1860. Evans learned of this while stationed at Camp Cooper, and immediately sent in his resignation to the War Department. In the same mail was a letter addressed to Governor F. W. Pickens of South Carolina offering his services to the state. On the same day that Evans' resignation was accepted in Washington, Governor Pickens commissioned him Adjutant-General of the regular enlisted forces of South Carolina, with the rank of Major.

Evans quickly left for Charleston and the siege of Fort Sumter. During the bombardment of the fort, Evans served under General R.G.M. Dunovant as Adjutant-General of his staff. He accompanied Dunovant to Sullivan's Island on April 9, but became ill soon afterwards. He remained bedridden until the beginning of the hostilities, after which he rejoined Dunovant.

The day after Major Robert Anderson's evacuation of Fort Sumter, Evans, elated over the victory, wrote to his wife:

Fort Sumter has been burned by our batteries. I think the war is nearly at an end. We have not *lost a single man* no one wounded an unheard of victory—I will be compelled to stay a day or two on the Island in the haste and excitement of victory.

I send you a fragment of the Palmetto Flag as shattered by the enemy.¹

Evans, of course, proved a poor prophet. Shortly after the bombardment of Fort Sumter, President Lincoln issued a call for 75,000 troops, which precipitated the secession of Tennessee, Virginia, North Carolina, and Arkansas, bringing the number of states to eleven that composed the Confederacy. Evans left for Richmond, Virginia, soon afterwards. On June 18, he was ordered to accompany the Fourth Regiment of South Carolina Volunteers to Manassas Junction and report to General P.G.T. Beauregard. The next day, Beauregard gave Evans the following instructions:



William Turner Collection

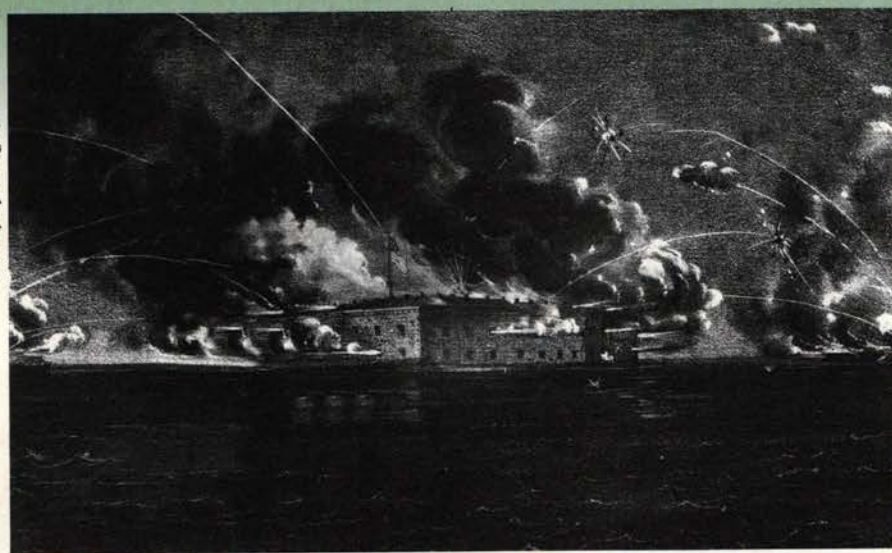
Brigadier General Barnard E. Bee.

You will proceed with Col. Sloan's Regt. to conduct it to Leesburg, Va., to report to Col. Eppa Hunton Provl. Army C. S., who will employ it to the best advantage in defending that important position, & in preventing the enemy from crossing the Potomac for the purpose of attacking it ²

Evans remained at Leesburg until the middle of July, when he received instructions to take the Fourth South Carolina Regiment back to Manassas.

The long expected march of the United States Army toward Richmond was begun on July 16, 1861, when General Irwin McDowell with some thirty thousand troops departed from the banks of the Potomac opposite Washington. The route chosen was by Centreville and Manassas Junction, where the Confederate Army under General Beauregard was stationed. After two days of slow marching, the Federal Army took possession of the outlying Confederate posts at Fairfax Court House and Centreville, the latter being only a few miles from Manassas Junction. The Confederates, offering little resistance, retired across Bull Run and fortified themselves along its banks.

Beauregard divided his army into seven brigades and assigned Evans, now a colonel, and who had arrived with Sloan's South Carolina Regiment from Leesburg on July 17, to the command of the Seventh Brigade. Evans' command was composed of Sloan's Fourth South Carolina Regiment, Wheat's Louisiana Battalion, and two companies of Virginia cavalry. It was the duty of this brigade,



Confederate batteries fire on Fort Sumter, April 12, 1861.

which held Beauregard's left flank, to protect the stone bridge crossing.

In the predawn hours, the Federal batteries began to shell Evans' position and continued their firing for about an hour. Beauregard sent orders to Evans to hold his position to the last extremity.

In the meantime, Federal skirmishers were advancing in considerable force. Evans directed two companies of Sloan's regiment and one of Wheat's battalion to advance so as to cover his front. The skirmishers were sent out and reached the bank of Bull Run, where they deployed on each side of the bridge. They kept up a fire for over an hour, and Evans soon became convinced that the Federals would advance no further at this point. About this time Evans received word that McDowell had turned his flank and was moving with a strong force around the Confederate rear to Manassas. Leaving four companies to guard his former position at the bridge, Evans departed with six companies of Sloan's regiment, Wheat's battalion, two 6-pounders of Latham's Battery, and a company of cavalry under Captain R. Terry to meet McDowell's flanking column of two divisions.

General Ambrose Burnside, leading the Northern advance, crossed at Sudley Springs and started on the road to Manassas. When Burnside advanced, he was promptly met by a terrific fire from Sloan's regiment. Soon thereafter, Wheat countercharged and the Twenty-seventh New York broke. Evans held his own for more than an hour, but as the Federals kept sending in reinforcements, it proved

too much for his thin line. Evans' small force, however, had held back the Northern onslaught long enough for Bernard Bee, Colonel F. S. Bartow and the Hampton Legion to form a line of battle on the Henry Hill. Evans was too hotly engaged to withdraw, so he sent word to Bee by one of his staff officers to come to his rescue. Bee went promptly to his old friend's aid and sent Bartow with the Seventh and Eighth Georgia towards the Carter house and with the rest of the brigade strengthened Evans' wavering line. The Confederate line finally broke and streamed to the eastward down the turnpike and along the Henry House plateau.

Johnston and Beauregard reached the plateau about 12:30 P.M. and were met by Bee's and Evans' troops in full retreat. It was during this part of the engagement that Bee is said to have given Jackson the name "Stonewall." The presence of Beauregard and Johnston with the troops under fire and the assurance of aid seemed to restore the spirits of the fleeing men. With the new line now formed upon Jackson's brigade and with troops coming from the fords reinforcing the line, the Confederates were able to check the Federal advance.

The Confederates had won a great victory, but Colonel Evans was sad. Upon the red battlefield Bee, his life-long friend, had fallen. Beauregard in his report stated; "Evans and his men had maintained their stand with almost matchless tenacity . . . It is fit that I should in this way commend to notice the dauntless conduct and imperturbable coolness of Colonel Evans."³

On August 11, 1861, Evans' brigade, now consisting of the Thirteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Mississippi regiments, and Hunton's Eighth Virginia, was ordered to Leesburg to increase the force there and also to give the ailing Mississippians an opportunity to recover in that country. The brigade also included two companies of cavalry, and a battery of Richmond howitzers.

Evans fully expected a promotion at this time and wrote to Beauregard concerning such. On October 9, Evans received a reply.

With regard to your appointment I said and written on the subject *all* that I could, but rec'd no definite answer. . . . These new promotions whenever made still necessitate several changes of stations and commands—but I hope to give you as fine a Brigade (if not better) than your present one.⁴

The principal points now held by the Confederates on the Virginia side of the Potomac above Washington were Dranesville, Leesburg, and Charleston. In order to determine the Confederate forces at Dranesville, General George B. McClellan ordered a reconnaissance toward Dranesville, which was occupied by the Federals on October 19.

About seven o'clock on the night of the nineteenth, the Federal batteries began to shell Evans' entrenchments at Fort Evans, on the Leesburg turnpike, and at Edwards' Ferry. The Confederates also heard heavy firing near Dranesville. Fearing an attack by a superior force, Evans had already dispatched a letter to Beauregard for reinforcements. Beauregard however, could spare none.

At 6:00 A.M. Evans discovered that the enemy had effected a crossing both at Edwards' Ferry and Ball's Bluff. Four hours later, Evans became convinced that the main attack was at Ball's Bluff.

Federal forces of about two thousand were stationed in a thick body of woods along the crest of a hill which descended to a cleared field some 450 feet wide and 1,250 feet long, surrounded completely by woods. The woods extended back about 125 feet to Ball's Bluff, which declined abruptly to the river. Upon his arrival, Hunton ordered the Virginians to charge through the woods. Although greatly outnumbered, the Confederates drove the Federals from the woods.

At 1:30 P.M., Hunton sent to Evans for reinforcements. But, Evans replied, "Tell Hunton to fight on." Hunton's ammunition was now nearly exhausted and again an hour later he sent a message to Evans telling him that if ammunition and reinforcements were not sent immediately he could not hold his position. "Tell Hunton to hold the ground," Evans responded, "till every damn man falls." Evans then dispatched the Eighteenth Mississippi to their aid.⁶

Evans, realizing that the Federals were in considerable numbers near Ball's Bluff, ordered Colonel Featherston's Seventeenth Mississippi Regiment to Hunton's support. Lieutenant Charles B. Wildman, a member of Evans' staff who was slightly intoxicated, happened upon the Federal lines, thinking them to be Confederates. Realizing his mistake, he pointed out a body of Confederates and in a very official manner ordered the Federals to charge.

The charge by the Tammany Regiment pulled the whole Federal line with it. They received a murderous fire from the Confederates at close quarters and retreated. The Federals were hotly pursued and pushed over the bluff at the point of the bayonet. The Confederates, standing at the top of the bluff, poured volley after volley into the Federals who made a gallant stand at the edge of the river rather than surrender. Some Federals, however, became panic stricken and rushed into a large boat which soon became overcrowded and sank about fifteen feet from shore. Others threw their arms into the river and attempted to swim to the Maryland shore. A large number drowned or were otherwise killed in the attempt. Around 7:00 P.M. the rout was complete. Evans ordered his brigade to sleep on the battle field that night in order to attack the Federals the next morning at Edwards' Ferry. That night, however, McClellan ordered the federal troops to withdraw.

Evans gave his losses in the conflict on October 21 as 153 killed and wounded and two taken prisoner. He listed the captured Federal property as fifteen hundred stands of arms, a stand of colors, a large number of cartridge boxes, bayonet scabbards, three pieces of cannon, and a quantity of camp furniture. He gave the Federal loss as an exaggerated thirteen hundred killed, drowned, and wounded and fifteen hundred prisoners. The Fed-

eral returns show, however, that they lost forty-nine killed, 165 wounded and 714 missing.⁷

Thomas Jordan, Assistant Adjutant General of the Army of the Potomac, wrote Evans on October 22; "The General congratulates you heartily for your brilliant success of yesterday and hopes that the enemy have been so worsted that he will not essay another trial of arms with you." The Confederate victory at Leesburg was joyously received by most of the Southern people. On October 22, General Johnston had the following congratulatory orders issued:

Evans! I knew the man was game to the backbone the first time I laid eyes on him. He proved it on the day of Manassas when with Sloan's South Carolina Regiment and Wheat's Louisiana Battalion, he kept 12,000 of the enemy at bay for an hour. And now with three regiments and *no artillery*, he has given Stone a terrible lambasting, killed Baker, of Oregon, (an excellent thing,) taken 6 pieces, 800 prisoners, and killed wounded and "drowned" 1200 more. It is fine ...



The Commanding General announces to the Army with great Satisfaction a Brilliant Success achieved yesterday near Leesburg by Colonel Evans and his brigade.

After a Contest lasting from early morning until dark, this Brigade routed and drove back into Maryland a very large force. Capturing 6 Cannon and 520 prisoners and killing and wounding a large number.

The Skill and Courage with which this victory has been achieved entitle Colonel Evans and the 7th Brigade of the 1st Corps to the thanks of the Army.⁸

On October 23, the columnist, "Hermes", wrote from Richmond to the *Charleston Mercury*:

Three times and a tiger for the heroic South Carolinian, General

Everybody wants to go to war; and the most cowardly of the stay-at-home-and-play-billiards club are grinning with joy and imaginary valor. Who can't whip the Yankees, now? Mr. Evans, you have done a fine thing. 'Kind sir, we give you thanks.'⁹

Evans received the thanks of the Confederate Congress, and of the Mississippi Legislature, and his native state voted him a medal. What was more important to him, however, was that on October 21, 1861, he was commissioned brigadier general in the Provisional Army of the Confederacy.

Another congratulatory letter arrived. This time it was also a letter of caution. Mart Gary wrote:

Allow me to congratulate you on your brilliant victory. I was at Centreville when I heard of it, and

I assure you it made my bosom swell with pride and gratification at your splendid success. Everyone spoke of you in the highest terms of praise. You must keep cool and not let success carry you too far. I insist that you will not expose yourself in any future fight, for you are now considered brave to a fault. I heard that Sister Vic was in Richmond. I suppose she is now with you...

The Federal forces were now menacing the South Carolina coast. Upon hearing of this, Evans asked the Confed-

They were Colonel C. J. Elford's Sixteenth South Carolina Volunteers, Colonel John H. Means' Seventeenth South Carolina Volunteers, and Major G.S. James Laurens' Battalion.

Former Governor William H. Gist expressed the feeling of many South Carolinians in a letter to Evans:

The people of S.C. are delighted to know, that you have returned to lead them. It did not require the brilliant career you have won in Virginia to satisfy them that, you would nobly do or die in defence of our rights; & what you did, honorable

nance but I am more determined than ever to fight them to the last extremity, and to die or be free. I am daily expecting an attack in the direction of John's Island and am now making arrangements to meet the enemy. I think he will attack Charleston this week. A simultaneous attack will probably be made on Savannah and Charleston.¹³

In a letter a few days later, Evans was even more pessimistic:

General Lee telegraphed me yesterday that the enemy had left Savannah probably for my district. Gen. Pemberton came up last night to consult how he could best support me. So if the Yankees should attack me I will be well supported Vic you do not say how you are. Sometimes I think I will never see you again & often do I find myself thinking of such a probability. There is now no prospect of our meeting soon as you cannot come to see me and I cannot by any means leave my district. So let us cheer each other that a Kind Providence may yet permit us to meet again.¹⁴

The Federals, however, did not advance, though they continued to send out reconnoitering parties. Evans tells of capturing several men in a letter to his wife written March 18:

My pickets succeeded yesterday in capturing three Yankees They (although armed) made no resistance to my guard of three men. I have sent them to Charleston . . . I am now preparing to attack them on the Island. I think I have them a little frightened. I went down yesterday and opened fire on them from the Pineberry Battery.

Crossed over four companies but enemy retired. I think he will make a feint to recover his prisoners. I am prepared with a force of 5000 to meet him and feel well assured should he come on the mainland I can whip him.¹⁵

Around the middle of March, Evans received information that the Federals had advanced from Edisto Island to Little Edisto Island with the intention of crossing to the mainland at Edisto Ferry or Pineberry. Evans sent out a scouting party which reported that the Federals had stationed four companies on the Northern



erate authorities in Richmond to send him to South Carolina in order that he might help protect his native state from invasion. South Carolina also wanted Evans to come home. On November 24, Governor F.W. Pickens wrote Jefferson Davis that he was well pleased with General Lee, but that if Lee "had more men like General Evans to make guerilla dashes, it might be a great service to him, particularly if the enemy land large forces on our coast with a view of permanent interior invasion." Five days later, Davis wrote to Pickens that Evans would be sent immediately.¹¹

In mid December, Evans reported for duty at Coosawatchie, South Carolina. Robert E. Lee, commanding the Department of South Carolina and Georgia, assigned Evans to the Third Military District, commanding troops who had just been mustered into Confederate service.

as it was to yourself & useful to your country was nothing more than your state expected.¹²

The Federals made several demonstrations against different points in Evans' district during December and January, but did not attempt an invasion. However, on February 12, they landed a force on Edisto Island. The following day, Evans reported to Lee that the Federals had occupied Edisto in force and that their pickets had advanced as far as Jehossee. Evans feared that if the Federals occupied Jehossee in force, they could, with the assistance of gunboats and batteries, drive back his small force and cut the Savannah and Charleston Railroad.

Evans appeared both gloomy and determined when he wrote home on February 20:

The gloomy news from Tenn. has cast a gloom over every counte-

extremity of both islands. Evans decided to attack.

On the afternoon of March 29, Stevens' Holcombe Legion crossed at Watt's Cut. After advancing for some distance to the Old Dominion house, the detachment split up according to Evans' orders. Major F.G. Palmer, with some 260 men, turned to the left and moved toward the bridge to Little Edisto Island. After driving the Federal pickets from the bridge, Palmer's command crossed and burned the bridge. He then proceeded to round up the trapped Federal troops on the island. Twenty-one were captured, but the rest escaped in a dense fog. Stevens advanced on Edisto and drove the Federals back to their artillery. The troops of both commands were back at Pineberry by 11 A.M. Two Federals were killed in the affair and a number wounded, while the Confederates had several slightly wounded.

General Lee wrote to Evans to congratulate him:

I am much gratified at your success in driving the enemy at Edisto. Keep at them my dear Genl. & give them no rest or peace. They are pressing us everywhere & it requires our renewed & united efforts to keep them at bay. I have great reliance upon you and the Army in S.C.¹⁶

BY NOW, PEMBERTON had formed his new line south of Charleston along the Savannah and Charleston Railroad. He had drawn in his defense on James Island to Secessionville, on the east side of the island to Fort Pemberton on the Stono, and was severely criticized by Governor Pickens, a great many military men, and the citizens of Charleston, for having given up too much territory. One of his subordinates, Brigadier General Roswell Sabine Ripley requested to be relieved of his post and was ordered to Richmond. On May 26, Brigadier General H.W. Mercer assumed command of the Second Military District of South Carolina. Two days later, Pemberton organized the Department of South Carolina into divisions and brigades. Evans was assigned to the command of the Second Military District of South Carolina of the First Division, while Mercer was assigned to the command of the First Military District of the same division.

The Federals, under the command of General H.W. Benham, landed troops on Battery Island on June 2, and three days later a large force was stationed on James Island. Benham's line extended opposite Secessionville on his right to the Stono on his left. During the next ten days there were several minor engagements between the opposing troops with a few casualties on either side.

On June 15, Pemberton assigned Evans to the command of the First Military District. That afternoon, Evans was notified by Colonel T.G. Lamar, who was stationed at Secessionville, that he would probably be attacked that night or the following morning. Evans directed Lamar to hold his position, and promised that he would reinforce him if necessary. Early the next morning, Lamar notified Evans that the Federals were advancing. Evans went immediately to the Clark house, where he arrived at 4:15 A.M. Here he found Colonel Johnson Hagood who had three regiments in readiness for an immediate attack. Evans then sent Colonel S. D. Goodlet's regiment and the Fourth Louisiana Battalion to Secessionville. These forces arrived in time to assist in repulsing the Federals' second charge at Secessionville. At this time, the Federals were advancing on Evans' right, so he ordered Hagood to attack them, and sent the Fifty-first Georgia Regiment and Colonel Williams' regiment to Hagood's support. The conflict now became general on both ends of the line. Finally, at about 10:00 A.M., the Federals retreated, leaving many dead and wounded upon the field.

The Confederates lost fifty-two killed, one hundred forty-four wounded and eight captured or missing, while the Federals lost one hundred seven killed, four hundred eighty-seven wounded and eighty-nine captured or missing. Forty-three of the Federals who were classed as wounded were captured by the Confederates.¹⁷

With the repulse at Secessionville, the Federals appeared convinced that the line across James Island was too strong to penetrate, and by the latter part of June they had evacuated the island and moved their troops to North Edisto, Hilton Head, and Beaufort.

Evans received orders on July 15 to proceed at once to Richmond in command of Means' Seventeenth Regiment South Carolina Volunteers, H.L. Ben-

bow's Twenty-third Regiment South Carolina Volunteers, J. M. Gadberry's Eighteenth Regiment South Carolina Volunteers, and the Holcombe Legion. His artillery consisted of W. D. Leake's Virginia Battery and R. Boyce's South Carolina Battery

On July 28, Lee ordered them to report to Longstreet "to be encamped and kept together for the present as a distinct organization."

Soon after his arrival Evans wrote to his wife:

I have been temporarily assigned to Genl. Longstreet's Division . . . I called this morning on Genl. Lee and found him in excellent spirits. He was delighted to see me and asked particularly for you to know why I did not bring you with me. I answered that everything was so high I could not afford it. The Army as far as I have seen are in fine spirits and ready for another fight. Genl. Lee however does not expect another fight near this place, but is determined to drive the Vandal, Pope out of the valley of Virginia. Pope I think can be easily driven back. . . .¹⁸

And three days later:

The enemy is leaving his position on James River and I feel convinced we will not have another fight near Richmond, and not for some days in the valley of Virginia. The enemy has been reinforcing Genl. Pope for several days, and I am expecting a fight with Jackson's forces every day, and should it please God to give us another victory in the Valley I think the war in Virginia will stop for awhile. I will move into camp tomorrow. . . I think the enemy has become convinced that he cannot take our capital with his present army. . . .¹⁹

It soon appeared that Lee and Evans were mistaken about McClellan's intentions. On August 5, Lee was notified that McClellan had advanced from Westover to Malvern Hill and was again threatening Richmond. The following day, Lee ordered Longstreet's, Ripley's, and Lafayette McLaws' divisions to advance toward Malvern Hill. It was about sunset when the Confederates drew up in line of battle. Evans' brigade formed a part of Longstreet's division which was stationed on the Confederate right. Lee ordered

At Charleston's Backdoor: The Battle of Secessionville June 16, 1862



Ten thousand Federal troops landed here on June 2, but found that Confederate positions were stronger than anticipated. However, Brigadier General Henry Benham, disregarding orders not to advance, proceeded with an attack against Secessionville on June 16.

At the time of the Federal landing, Brigadier General Nathan Evans commanded 6500 men stationed on James Island. He positioned nearly 4400 of these on the southern defense line. The uncompleted battery at Secessionville was garrisoned by 600 troops.

The Attack on Secessionville

The first Federal attack began by 4:00 am with Stevens' units assaulting Lamar's earthen battery; they were repulsed. Near 5:00 am, Wright's division launched a second attack (which Stevens did not coordinate with) just as Confederate reinforcements arrived to support Lamar. Hagood's advance soon took the Federals in flank, driving them back. Union troops sustained 683 casualties against only 204 Confederate losses. Benham was soon relieved of command.

Federal attack on Lamar's battery

Evans' and Howell Cobb's brigades to advance upon Malvern Hill. Evans advanced through a body of woods, arriving at a wheat field on the opposite side. He halted his brigade shortly after dark. A little later, a Federal cavalry detachment appeared on a road where the flank of the Eighteenth South Carolina rested. Evans immediately opened fire and the cavalry beat a hasty retreat. Several of the Federals were killed and four captured. The following morning, the Confederates discovered that McClellan had retreated to Westover during the night.

On August 13, Lee obtained information that Burnside and McClellan were withdrawing from the peninsula in order to reinforce Pope, and decided to attack Pope before the reinforcements could reach him. Leaving D.H. Hill's and McLaws' divisions to watch McClellan, he ordered Longstreet's command, which included Evans brigade, to proceed immediately by the Virginia Central Railroad to Gordonsville.

There followed perhaps Robert E. Lee's greatest triumphs, the Second Manassas Campaign. Evans' brigade was among those which lost heavily, suffering thirty-three men killed, two hundred forty wounded, and one missing. Evans mentioned the losses in a letter to his wife:

I have just come through another hard battle. My brigade suffered severely. I lost Col. Means who died blessing me. Col. Gadberry was shot down in the charge. I lost eight captains out of one Regiment. I was under fire the whole time and thank Heaven came out unhurt. Mart was under my command in the thickest of the fight. Billy went as a private in the Holcombe Legion. Had his gun struck three times . . . We fought on the old field of Manassas. I recognized the place and felt confident we would be successful. . . . The woods in our rear are strewn with the dead Yankees. The stench is awful. The wretches will not send back to bury their dead.²⁰

Although the Confederate soldiers were half starved and half clothed, they were in excellent spirits as they marched along. Evans was also in a good mood as he wrote to his wife from near Leesburg:

We have but little to eat. My breakfast is generally a roasting ear of corn no meat or coffee. I bought

two ducks yesterday and Tom and Romeo are now preparing them for dinner. I am however in good health and spirits and hope to be in Baltimore or Washington in ten days. The enemy has moved all the state papers etc. from Washington. He is evidently much frightened and his army is much cut up and entirely disorganized. We are nearly a hundred thousand strong and flushed with victory . . . Mart has just come to see me—talkative as ever—says he don't know when he can return—says he is going to Maryland. Brags a lot about his legion. . . . Will send for you when we get into Washington City.²¹

The Confederates vacated Frederick on September 10, leaving in different directions. Jackson was sent to capture the Federal garrisons stationed at Martinsburg and Harper's Ferry, while Longstreet moved across South Mountain and up the valley to Hagerstown. By the evening of the thirteenth, the Confederates had crossed South Mountain, leaving a portion of Stuart's cavalry to guard the gaps.

Upon their arrival at South Mountain, Longstreet sent Evans' division to Brigadier General R.E. Rodes' support on the left of the road near South Mountain. As the troops were marching up the mountain, Longstreet notified Evans that Hood's brigades had been detached to support the Confederate right. Longstreet instructed Evans to hold his position on the left and promised reinforcements. Upon arriving at the top of the mountain, Evans ordered Colonel P.F. Stevens to push over the opposite side in order to give assistance to Rodes. Stevens proceeded with a single brigade and soon became engaged. After holding their position for some time against superior numbers, the long march they had made from Hagerstown and the heavy pressure that was being exerted upon them began to tell on the South Carolinians. They finally broke and retreated to the road. As darkness was approaching, the Federals did not push their advantage. That night Evans' division acted as rear guard for the army as it retreated to Sharpsburg.

The following day, Evans' men were hotly engaged in the Battle of Sharpsburg (Antietam). At the close of the day, Evans reported to Lee he had only 1,200 men present for duty. The Federals did not renew the attack, so that night the battle-worn Confederates retired from Sharpsburg and crossed the Potomac into Virginia.

Upon reaching Shepherdstown, Virginia, on the nineteenth, Evans wrote his wife:

We have just fought the great battle a hundred thousand against us. We fought all day under a heavy artillery fire. Our loss is great but not as much as that of the enemy. We retired across the river last night in good order after resting one day on the battle field. Mart and Billy are safe. I was under fire nearly all day and thank Heaven was spared. My little Secretary Trezevant was shot in the leg immediately in my rear by a shell. His leg was completely taken off . . . I am nearly worn out for want of sleep and something to eat . . . I have not seen my wagons for 10 days but sleep



Above right: Brigadier General Roswell S. Ripley (Library of Congress), and General Pierre Gustave Toutant Beauregard (Sam Thomas Collection).

pretty comfortably with my Mexican blanket... The Yankees I think feel convinced we can whip them. This battle was the greatest I have been in. All of our forces were engaged in line of battle five miles long.²²

A **STHE END** of the first full year of fighting approached, Evans was becoming concerned whether his men could withstand the coming winter.

We are in good spirits but very tired of war. I have written to Genl. Beauregard if South Carolina is again invaded to apply for my brigade as I know my men will not be able to stand the winter in this climate clothed as they are...

Evans, however, was sent to North Carolina, and was assigned the command of the troops between the Neuse and Roanoke rivers. His brigade was stationed at Kinston, on the Neuse River about thirty-five miles from New Bern, where a large Federal force was concentrated. Kinston was located in a strategic position, because of its nearness to the railroad line which connected Virginia with the lower South.

Evans was anticipating hard fighting on all fronts, judging from a letter written to his wife at this time:

Should the enemy attack Richmond soon I will probably be ordered back to Virginia... The enemy annoy my pickets below here but I do not think however that Foster will come out in two or three weeks not until Richmond is attacked. I am daily expecting to hear of the fight between Lee and Burnside and feel confident we will whip him. The month of December will be a memorable one. Richmond, Weldon, Wilmington, and Charleston are to be attacked with heavy forces and if it should please Heaven to give us the victory I think the war will be over...²⁴

On December 11, Major General John G. Foster left New Bern with a large Federal force consisting of about ten thousand infantry, an artillery detachment of forty guns, and a cavalry force of 640 men. After marching fourteen miles down the main Kinston road, Foster's progress was stopped by trees which the Confederates had felled across

the road for nearly a mile. The Federals stopped for the night, removing the obstructions before morning. Foster's march was not interrupted until the twelfth, when he was engaged by a small Confederate cavalry force under the command of Colonel John A. Baker about twenty miles from Kinston. The Federals surrounded and completely cut this force to pieces, rendering it practically useless for further use during the campaign. On the night of the twelfth, Foster bivouacked about ten miles from Kinston.

Foster's advance took the Confederates completely by surprise. Evans had separated his small command, stationing them at vulnerable points along a thirty-five mile line. He had stationed the Holcombe Legion and the Eighteenth South Carolina at Greenville some thirty-five miles from Kinston to guard his rear against a possible Federal movement by Washington, North Carolina, where the latter were concentrated in considerable force. Evans, unaware of the Federal advance, was at Greenville, inspecting the forces stationed at that point. During his absence, Colonel James D. Radcliffe was in command of the Confederates stationed at Kinston. On the twelfth, Radcliffe formed his line of battle on Southwest Creek, about four miles west of Kinston, after destroying the bridge over the creek on the Kinston road. His command consisted of the Seventeenth, Twenty-second, Twenty-third South Carolina Regiments and the Sixty-first Regiment North Carolina State Troops, which was stationed at Hines' Mill about two miles distance. They were supported by six pieces of artillery.

The next morning, the Federals advanced against this line and drove it back after considerable fighting. Evans arrived about ten o'clock in the morning and assumed command, placing Radcliffe in command on the left. The Federals pushed forward slowly during the day and drove the Confederates to within two miles of the Kinston bridge. At this point, the two armies bivouacked for the night, with the Confederates sleeping on their arms.

Early on the morning of the fifteenth, Radcliffe notified Evans that he had been attacked. In the meantime, the Holcombe Legion and Colonel Peter Mallet's North Carolina Battalion had reinforced Evans. Evans ordered Radcliffe to hold his position, as he was going to

attack Foster's left. The Confederates advanced, but they met stiff opposition. After engaging the enemy for nearly three hours, the Confederates were forced to fall back to the Kinston bridge. They made a determined stand, but were forced to retire, setting fire to the bridge as they crossed. Over four hundred men, however, were unable to withdraw and were captured by the Federals.

Extinguishing the flames at the bridge, the Northern troops pushed on to Kinston under the cover of the fire of their powerful artillery. Evans retreated for about two miles along the Goldsboro road where he formed a line of battle. During the retreat Evans was reinforced by Colonel S. H. Rogers Forty-seventh Regiment North Carolina State Troops. Evans fell back to Falling Creek, where he met reinforcements consisting of two North Carolina regiments and six hundred dismounted cavalymen under the command of Brigadier-General Beverly H. Robertson.

On the morning of the fifteenth, Foster recrossed the Neuse and proceeded in the direction of Goldsboro. Evans dispatched Robertson with the Eleventh Regiment North Carolina State Troops and six hundred dismounted cavalymen to prevent the Federals from crossing at White Hall.

Robertson arrived at White Hall on the fifteenth and burned the bridge across the Neuse as soon as he heard that the Federals were approaching. On the sixteenth, he engaged the Northern troops and prevented their crossing. Foster then continued his advance toward Goldsboro and encamped that night about eight miles from that place.

After the Federals were repulsed at White Hall, French ordered Evans to report to General Gustavus W. Smith at Goldsboro. On the morning of the seventeenth, Smith ordered Evans to take command of a force composed of Brigadier General Thomas L. Clingman's brigade and Evans' brigade with which he was to make an armed reconnaissance of the Federals approaching the railroad bridge. At this time, a dispatch arrived from Clingman's command stationed at the county and railroad bridges which stated that the Federals were within three miles of the bridge.

The Confederates held their position for some time, but the heavy artillery fire of the powerful Federal batteries forced

them to retire to the country bridge. The heavy Federal fire set the railroad bridge aflame. After the bridge was in flames, the Federal batteries ceased firing, and Foster gave orders for the command to retire. In the meantime, Evans had ordered an advance. The Confederates occupied the railroad line and then launched an attack upon the Federals forcing them to retreat to a higher field in front of the Confederates where their batteries began to play upon the charging rebels, who were repulsed. As it was now almost dark, no further attempt was made to drive the Federals from this position. Having succeeded in cutting the railroad, Foster retired during the night and began his retreat to Kinston.

THE FEDERAL LOSSES for the campaign were ninety-two killed, 487 wounded, and twelve missing or captured. There is no available list of the Confederate losses, but they were certainly greater than those of the Federals, because of the large number of prisoners taken at the Kinston bridge.²⁵

"Personne" was profuse in his praise of Evans after the battle. In speaking of the engagement at Kinston, he said:

This is the only instance during the war where a Confederate General has been bold enough to oppose the abolitionists when the odds were ten to one. But it was done by Evans here, and if necessary will be done again and again. His motto is 'to fight the enemy wherever he can find them' and if he is compelled to retreat in the language of his order 'ball back fighting.' It was the very temerity of Evans' attack here, with a mere handful of troops, which disconcerted Foster, and made him so wary during his march to Goldsboro' The entire credit of this portion of the campaign belongs to General Evans.²⁶

There were some who criticized the generalship that Evans displayed at Kinston. They thought that Evans made a grave mistake by offering battle on the opposite bank of the Neuse against so large a force. "Personne" stated that if Evans had not given battle to Foster across the Neuse and delayed him for twenty-four hours, Foster would have proceeded as he did up the other bank of the Neuse and would have taken

Goldsboro before reinforcements could arrive.

Evans, however, had other things to contend with that affected him personally, and caused him more anxiety than the Federals. On December 25, he stated in a letter to his wife that "the rascal Col. McMaster has attempted to disaffect the Brigade against me, thinking that I am too rash. I have him now under arrest and will keep him so." Fitzhugh W. McMaster and Colonel S. C. Goodlet continued to circulate reports that were derogatory to Evans' character. Their chief accusation against Evans was that he had been drunk during battle on numerous occasions. These reports hurt Evans deeply. After due consideration of the matter, he asked for a Court of Inquiry, demanding that the ones spreading the malicious reports bring formal charges against him. The charges were brought by Goodlet, but the court-martial did not convene until February.²⁷

In the meantime, the rumors spread through South Carolina that Evans had been removed from his command and that charges had been brought against him on the grounds of incompetence, cowardice, and intoxication. Hearing that South Carolina was filled with such rumors, "Personne" came to Evans' defense. On January 6, he stated that it was true that charges had been made against Evans by one of his colonels, but Evans had not been deprived of his command. "Personne's" comments bear repeating:

... In standing between General Evans and the public, and setting forth facts that ought to counteract the influence of these rumors — facts which General Evans or no other officer in his position could properly communicate — my only object is to do justice in the promises to one who has never yet reflected aught but honor upon his native State, and then to let the future take care of itself. I predict that the future will leave his fame as untarnished as his sword.

The reputation of a soldier is as dear to him as is virtue to a woman. And like virtue it requires but a breath of suspicion to mar its purity. Has General Evans deserved all this from the public? Has he been incompetent? Commence with his career among the Indians of New Mexico. Why did South Carolina

vote him a costly sword of the value of ten thousand dollars? Follow him from Fort Sumter to Manassas, where his little command of a few hundred men met and sustained the first shock of battle, until the remainder of our forces could be got into position. Was it because of his 'incompetency' there, that the President conferred upon him one of the earliest appointments as Brigadier-General? Was it because of 'incompetency' that he was next transferred to the important command of Leesburg—the chief gate-way to the rear of our army—where, by able generalship he held in check ten thousand of the enemy at one point while he was inflicting a terrible punishment of five thousand elsewhere—a blow that made the North howl with rage, and the South exult in gladness? Was it owing to 'incompetency' that, soon after this event, he was invested with the command of a division, which he retained until ordered to this place; and was held by General Lee, subject to special duty, outside of the regular line of division movements, and, finally, did his "Incompetency" display itself here, where with two thousand and fourteen men he met twenty thousand of the Abolitionists, held them in check for a day and a half, and but for superior orders would have been in their rear? History has written the answer; the proof is upon the record; there let it stand.

The evidence of the 'cowardice' of gen. Evans are as abundant as the examples of his 'incompetency.' Among the most prominent of these is, when a Captain in the United States Army, he met four Indians in a hand to hand encounter and killed them all. Further on we find him again at Manassas in the thickest of the fight. At Boonesboro Gap, Captain T.D. Eason, standing as one of his aids, is wounded by a musket ball, while standing in a few feet of him. At Sharpsburg, young Fauquier Trezevant is mortally wounded almost by his side. On the Rappahannock, his Orderly has his horse killed while following the General, and the latter exposes himself so

rashly that General Stevens, then of the Holcombe Legion, remonstrates with him because of his imprudence. At the second Manassas he occupies a position within seven hundred yards of the enemy's batteries, which are pouring forth a steady volume of grape and canister; and at Kinston he dismounts from his horse, and for an hour or more walks calmly on the river bank, the mark of the Yankee rifles and artillery.



ing those who know Evans the least may so pronounce . . .

It is too late in the day to deprive an officer of his hard earned reputation who for fifteen years has carried his life in is hand, to be yielded up for the public good whenever the sacrifice might be demanded, and who has twice received the testimonials from the Legislature of his own State, and the thanks of Mississippi and the Confederate Congress.



Left: Brigadier General William Henry Chase Whiting (*Museum of the Confederacy*), and **Brigadier General James Longstreet** (*Library of Congress*).

The most serious charge and the one most likely to affect the personal character of the General, because oftenest repeated, is that of drunkenness. Yet as far as my experience extends—and it has been by no means a limited one—I believe this allegation even less reliable than its two predecessors. It has been my fortune during the past year to meet General Evans and the officers of his staff frequently. I have seen him in the dawn of morning, in the flush of noon, and at the hour of retirement, before battle, during battle and after battle, but never on any occasion when it could be said that he was drunk—drunk entirely or drunk approximately.

That he has his faults, and among others is impetuosity of character and nervousness of disposition that cannot brook disappointment, disobedience of orders, and above all a retreat of his men, which finds vent in flashing eye, strong language, and passionate gestures, I am free to admit, but this is not drunkenness not withstand-

I am aware that I have written warmly, but not more so than the circumstances demanded; and not more so than shall always be the case when I can wield a pen to right a wrong.²⁸

"Personne" was not the only one who came to Evans' aid. Captain John Hillary Gary stated publicly in Charleston that if any attempted to spread the false rumors concerning General Evans' habits that he would personally hold him accountable. In February the Court of Inquiry exonerated Evans on all charges.

Evans' force remained at Kinston until mid-February, 1863, but during this time the Federals did not attempt another invasion. After leaving Kinston, Evans' brigade was placed in the District of Cape Fear which was commanded by Brigadier General W.H.C. Whiting. This district formed a part of the Department of North Carolina and Virginia which was under the command of General Longstreet. Evans served in this district at different posts until around April 11, 1863, when his brigade was ordered to Charleston, which was facing the prospects of a serious Federal attack.

The Brigade's stay in Charleston was short-lived. The situation in Mississippi became critical. On May 9, Seddon telegraphed Beauregard to send five thousand men if Evans' brigade had returned from North Carolina, and if not, five thousand men including his brigade. Three days later, Evans wrote to his wife on this subject:

I have received orders to go to Vicksburg, Miss. but Genl. Beauregard has suspended the order until he can hear from the Secretary of War again. As my Brigade is the only troops on James Island, I hope he will succeed in his protest for your sake and I earnestly believe that Charleston will be taken if the Secretary moves five thousand more troops which is the order now given to Beauregard....²⁹

M.L. Bonham, Governor of South Carolina, Beauregard, and other prominent citizens protested to Davis about stripping the coastal defenses of so many troops, but Davis was convinced that the Federals did not have a large force in South Carolina and Beauregard could spare the troops. Beauregard, therefore, on May 12, ordered Evans' brigade and one additional regiment, about twenty-seven hundred men, to report to Pemberton in Mississippi.

During the lull in Mississippi while Joseph Johnston organized his Army of Relief, Evans had the opportunity to visit with friends in the region. In a June 17th letter to Vic, Evans wrote:

My old St. Louis friends came to see me yesterday and are anxious that I should be ordered to Missouri with Genl. Price. My old friend Mrs. Choceteau thinking I wanted money sent me a check for twenty thousand dollars which she wished me to use as long as I wished. I declined her kind offer but told her son should I resign I would accept her very kind offer. Mrs. Choceteau also sent me a silver medal to wear around my neck to keep the Devil and Yankee bullets away. I will wear the medal tho' I am not a Catholic....³⁰

On June 23, Evans' brigade was assigned to French's division. The brigade has previously served in William W. Loring's and John C. Breckenridge's division since its arrival in Mississippi. A day later, Evans wrote:

We left Jackson on the 22nd and are now about the same distance from Vicksburg whence we are now in hearing of heavy cannonading. Our troops still hold out nobly and I do pray Heaven may continue Until we can relieve them. I am now under Genl. French who has a Division of three brigades. I am the senior Brigadier and will have everything pretty much my own way for I am certainly a better General than French. Genl. Johnston is truly unfortunate in Divisional Commanders. Loring, French, and Walker, neither of whom can manage an Army. We have rendezvoused here for what reason I am unable to say, but I expect it is a strategic move of Johnston. . . . I do not apprehend any severe fighting by our Division. We will trust more to strategy than to actual engagements as we are too weak to offer them battle direct...³¹

The following day, Johnston ordered his command to advance toward the Big Black River. However, he then received the news of the fall of Vicksburg and gave orders for his army to retreat to Jackson, which it reached on the afternoon of the seventh. Forty-eight hours later, General William T. Sherman appeared before Jackson with a large Federal force and began to construct batteries. During the next several days there was constant skirmishing between the two opposing armies. The Federal batteries, however, shelled the city incessantly. On the fourteenth, Evans wrote:

This is the 5th day we have been skirmishing. No general attack has yet been made. Grant with one Division made an attempt to turn our left flank but was easily repulsed by Breckenridge. We captured two or three hundred prisoners and killed quite a number. My loss is small yet not more than fifty altogether....³²

Shortly thereafter, Johnston withdrew from Jackson. The Confederates continued to fall back until they reached Morton, Mississippi four days later. Homesick, Evans wrote to his wife expressing his anxiety over the safety of Charleston and of his desire to return to South Carolina, in order that he might help defend the city:

We have just stopped to let our supply train of three hundred wagons

pass. Will probably be ordered today again toward Meridian I wish I could return to Charleston immediately, but I am convinced I am out west for the war, and will be compelled to ask for a leave of absence to visit my little family I am very anxious about Charleston and I think Genl. Beauregard should charge the enemy at once even if it cost dearly and drive him off Morris Island for as long as he has a footing he can annoy us. . . .³³



Left: Thomas Jordan, Assistant Adjutant General of the Army of the Potomac (*Library of Congress*), and **Brigadier General Martin Witherspoon Gary** (*Cook collection, Valentine Museum*).

On August 2nd, Johnston instructed Evans to proceed with his brigade to Savannah, and shortly thereafter Beauregard ordered Evans to report to Charleston with four regiments, leaving his strongest regiment for the present in Savannah. The following day Evans wrote Mrs. Evans; "I have just recd. orders to go to Charleston and will leave in the morning I suppose again to be held in reserve Tell all the people not to be afraid of Charleston falling. The Yankees can shell it for two years without doing much injury..."³⁴

Soon after his arrival in Charleston, Evans was assigned to the command of the Second Sub-Division of the First Military District, which was under the command of Brigadier General Roswell S. Ripley. Ripley and Evans, however, did not get along from the start. Indeed, their first meeting was a very strained affair. Several days after the meeting Evans wrote Jordan requesting that he and his brigade "be relieved from duty under the command of Brig. Genl. R. S. Ripley."

But much to Evans' surprise, the following order from Captain W. F. Nance, Assistant Adjutant-General, was presented to him on the fifteenth:

The Brig. Genl. Comd'g. directs that you [W. Gordon McCabe] proceed to Mount Pleasant or Sullivans Island wherever Brig. Genl. Evans may be found and order him in arrest at the house he occupies on Mt. Pleasant with his limits one mile around. You will direct Brig. Genl. Evans to transfer the

command of the 2nd Sub-Division at once to Brig. Genl. Clingman, with all the orders, letters and other papers of instruction he may have received.

You will also direct Genl. Evans to order his staff officers to report for immediate duty to the Senior Colonel of his Brigade during Brig. Genl. Evans' arrest.

This order is positive and immediate.³⁵

On the 30th, Evans was notified that his trial would be held in Charleston on October 2nd. Nevertheless, he appeared confident of the outcome as he wrote his wife:

My trial will come off in a day or two. Everything looks favorable to me. My lawyers say my case is strong tho' I will have a strong party to content with. Col. Moses and Mr. Wilson Mitchell are my counsels. They both discussed with me yesterday. There is no feeling of animosity between myself and

Ripley although I have a contemptible opinion of him. You may rest assured he will never challenge me. He is too great a coward. Col. Moses tells me the whole Legislature is in my favor and would willingly come down to Charleston on my defence. On the whole I think the trial will benefit me anyhow in the state ³⁶

The court convened on October 2nd. Ripley brought a charge of "Disobedience of Orders" against Evans. It took the court approximately two weeks to examine all the witnesses. Evans, however, succeeded in producing sufficient testimony to refute all the charges of disobedience.

On March 21, Evans returned to duty and assumed command of the First Military District. A couple of weeks later, he was assigned to the command of the Third-Sub-Division; again this meant that he was under Ripley's command. Evans, though, did not like this arrangement. In a letter to his wife on April 8, he wrote; "I have applied to be sent in the field, either to Virginia or Georgia. I am determined to get rid of Beauregard and Ripley and will continue to apply until I am ordered away. . ."³⁷

Evans' opportunity came sooner than he expected. On April 14, General Cooper instructed Beauregard to send Evans' brigade to Wilmington immediately. Evans, however, never reached Wilmington. On the morning of the sixteenth Evans, accompanied by A.L. Evans, was riding down Charleston's Meeting Street in a light buggy drawn by two horses. They had passed the *Courier* office when one of the traces gave way which caused the horses to proceed at full speed. The sudden lurch by the horses broke the shaft and caused the front of the buggy to fall to the ground. Evans, in trying to check the horses, was pulled over the dashboard and onto the pavement. His head struck the cobble stones with fearful violence. Several people from the *Courier* office ran to Evans' assistance and brought him into the office and a doctor was sent for immediately. Evans suffered a severe blow where his head had struck the stones. When picked up, he was unconscious and was bleeding profusely from a lacerated wound on the right side of the head and from severe cuts about the eyes and mouth. His whole frontal bone was laid bare, all the skin being taken off. In a few minutes Drs. Leby and

Ogier, army surgeons, arrived and dressed the wounds. A little while later Evans was carried to the Schrimmer's residence in Aiken Row, where he was examined by Dr. Brodie.

Evans' accident prevented him from leaving with his brigade. However, although still ill, he went to Virginia in the early fall to resume his duties. The day after Evans arrived, Beauregard ordered him to proceed to Goldsboro, North Carolina, and to report to General Johnston. Evans arrived in Raleigh on March 17, and immediately asked Johnston for instructions. Johnston, however, replied that there was not a command to which Evans could be assigned. Finally, on March 30, Evans received orders from Johnston to return to South Carolina and there await instructions.

By this point, the collapse of the Confederacy was fast approaching. Lee withdrew from Richmond in early April and Davis began his trip to the lower South. After Lee had surrendered at Appomattox Court House, Brigadier General Mart Gary left with a detachment of his cavalry and cut his way through the Federal lines to join Davis' escort in North Carolina. Evans also united with the escort in that state. Davis and his cabinet were safely conducted to Cokesbury by these troops. The President stopped at the Gary home in Cokesbury on May 1, where he was given a big reception by Mrs. Thomas R. Gary, the general's mother. He left early the next morning for Abbeville to hold the last meeting of his cabinet. After the meeting he traveled southward, but was captured in Georgia. Evans and Gary remained at Cokesbury.

With the war's end, Evans went into the cotton business in Charleston. When the venture proved neither successful nor to his taste, he returned to Cokesbury, where he founded a small school. The school was too small, though, for Evans and in 1867 he decided to venture to a new school in Midway, Alabama, "where I will have a more extensive field of prospects and can better support my family."

To help launch the new school, Shanks asked his brother Beverly to write an introductory article about him since "the people of Alabama and Georgia do not know me." The article authored by Beverly spoke of a new Nathan George Evans, not the hard-fighting, profane, and self-absorbed general perhaps others had known. Quite the contrary in fact,

the new Shanks was a hard praying, sincere, and humble member of the Methodist Church. "Thank God," Shanks wrote his brother Beverly, "he has opened my eyes and understanding to my situation and I have repented and am now trying to serve God." Soon thereafter, however, Shanks died at Midway on November 23, 1868, most likely from the residual effect of his injury, and was laid to rest at Cokesbury. For Evans, the war with the North was over, but the war with history had just begun. □

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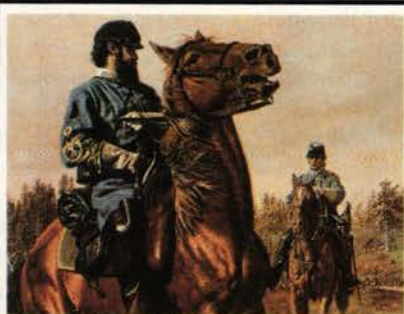
SAMUEL N. THOMAS, JR. is Curator for the York County Culture and Heritage commission.

THE LATE BEVERLY D. EVANS, IV, was a grand nephew of General Evans.

NOTES:

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COVER STORY "Stonewall" by Don Stivers was published in 1985. The caption in Don's catalog reads, "The man his students at V.M.I. called 'Tom Fool' Jackson, became the legend we call 'Stonewall'."

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THUNDER AT CHANTILLY

**THE SECOND MANASSAS CAMPAIGN
CLOSES AMIDST BLOOD AND A TORRENT**



John Hennessy

"Rearguard at White Oak Swamp"
Painting by Julian Scott. Scott enlisted in the 3rd Vermont
Infantry at the age of fifteen and later won the Medal of Honor.

Lee's army had acted like a well oiled machine and won an outstanding victory.



IT WAS ONE THING to crown two solid weeks of physical ordeal with victory; it was another altogether to reward that effort with numbing defeat. On August 31, 1862, the Union Army of Virginia, commanded by the now-thoroughly lamented John Pope, gyrated around Centreville like a drunk kicked in the gut on the sidewalk. The body was intact, for sure, but the sight of it was hardly appealing.

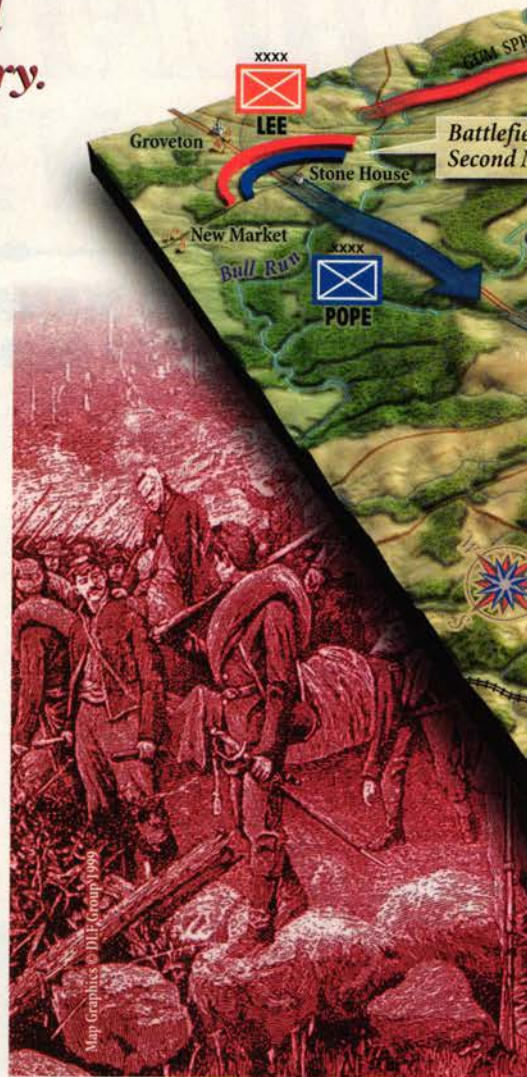
Major General John Pope (pictured above) had capped weeks of campaigning with a complete defeat, at the Second Battle of Manassas. He had come to Virginia from the west amid proclamations, his job to at least deter Robert E. Lee's emerging Confederate juggernaut. Instead, he had been victimized by it. On this rainy Sunday, his beaten army slouched after three days of costly, mismanaged battle just a few miles to the west, across Bull Run. And they slouched sensing that Robert E. Lee wasn't quite done with them yet.¹

To his credit, John Pope immediately set about the rejuvenation of his army and began preparations for what would likely be Robert E. Lee's next attempt to destroy him. The Union Army took an immensely strong position in the old Confederate works at Centreville, astride

the turnpike leading eastward from Warrenton to Fairfax.² But, Pope knew, the main threat from Lee would not likely come in front of the massive Centreville works. Rather, Lee surely eyed the roads leading to Pope's rear. He knew that the Little River Turnpike (modern Route 50) wrapped neatly around the Union army's right flank, intersecting Pope's route eastward at Germantown, two miles from Fairfax. A movement by Lee along this line would render Pope's position at Centreville untenable. To guard against such a possibility, Pope ordered a number of measures designed to give warning of a Confederate advance on the Little River Turnpike.³

Five miles west of Pope, amidst the dripping stench of the Manassas battlefield, Robert E. Lee spent August 31 scheming how to fulfill John Pope's darkest fears. The previous week's work by the army had been among the best ever offered by a body of foot soldiers. Thomas J. Jackson's men had set the stage for victory at Second Manassas with a stunning 54-mile march to Pope's rear, cutting the Yankee's supply line and forcing him to retreat from the Rappahannock. Jackson then initiated battle and withstood two days of disjointed but bloody attacks. James Longstreet and his 30,000 men, meanwhile, had followed in Jackson's footsteps, combined with him on the battlefield (one of the most difficult of military operations), and then closed the battle with a massive flank attack that came close to destroying Pope's army altogether. Lee's army had acted like a well oiled machine and won an outstanding victory. "There never was such a campaign," trumpeted one of Lee's generals.⁴

Yet, Pope's army had escaped, and this fact would govern Lee on that drizzly August 31. Ironically, Lee had claimed just the day before that he intended to "avoid a general engagement" against Pope. But when opportunity to destroy Pope presented itself on the afternoon of August 30, Lee moved unerringly. On August 31, Lee sought yet another opportunity to destroy the wavering and obnoxious Yankee. He would not risk much



toward that end, to be sure (Lee clearly had in mind an invasion of Maryland, and needed to husband his strength), but he felt compelled at least to develop the possibilities.

Just after dawn on August 31, Lee received a report from Stuart that the Federals remained strongly placed in Centreville. There could be no attacking the Federals there, Lee knew, and he quickly settled on a move around Pope's right flank. The roads were precision-made for the maneuver; the Little River Turnpike neatly bypassed the massive fortifications at Centreville and converged on the Warrenton Turnpike near Fairfax Courthouse—seven miles behind Pope's present position at Centreville. A movement along this line would, at least, force Pope out of Centreville and back into the defenses of Washington. At best, Lee might plunge into the Union rear and destroy Pope. Best of all, the risk associated with another flank march



CHANTILLY

Jackson's Flank March August 31- September 1, 1862

their first hint at the Confederate movement on the Little River Turnpike.⁷ Later they pushed southeastward along the Little River Turnpike toward Fairfax Courthouse, and the Union rear. Before sunset, Stuart's troops clashed with Union infantry and artillery at Germantown—the precursor of what would become a large and decisive Union force at that place. After much noise and few casualties, at dusk the Confederate cavalrymen withdrew and went into bivouac north of Ox Hill.⁸

By this time, Jackson's main column was completing its march for the day. At dark, Jackson turned his men right onto the Little River Turnpike and into bivouac at Pleasant Valley Methodist Church, only ten miles from his starting point. A short march it was, but Jackson was now squarely on the flank of Pope's main body at Centreville. The morrow's march would take him toward the Union rear.⁹

While some Yankees had gotten hints of Jackson's movement, Pope spent most of August 31 in blissful ignorance. Pope continued to tend to his wounded army (now numbering 62,000 men) at Centreville. And, he swayed wildly back and forth between unfounded optimism and unwarranted depression. That morning he had sent his gloomy dispatch to Halleck, questioning the safety of Washington. By afternoon, he was ready to attack the Confederates in front of Centreville, yet he issued no orders to do so, and the plan simply faded away. That night, a staff officer sensed the confusion. "If we ever reach Washington in safety, it will be more than I expect."¹⁰

That evening the first hints of Confederate activity on the Little River Turnpike reached Pope, who responded quickly. Soon after 3:00 p.m. he sent orders to Irvin McDowell to move Marsena Patrick's brigade from Centreville east along the Warrenton Turnpike, "to open the road between this point and Fairfax Court-House, where the enemy has made his appearance." When, after dark, he learned of Stuart's presence near Germantown and Ox Hill, Pope sent out a reconnaissance to "ascertain whether the enemy is making any movement toward Germantown and Fairfax Court-House." And then he sent warning to Halleck: "The plan of the enemy will undoubtedly be to turn my flank. If he does he will have his hands full."¹¹

seemed negligible. If Lee found opportunity, he could seize it. If, instead, the Yankees responded efficiently, the Confederates could easily suspend the movement altogether. In that event, the Potomac and Maryland beckoned still, just to the north.

To undertake this effort, Lee reprised the assignments given to his commanders during the past week. Jackson, who lay on the Confederate left that day, would lead the flank march—as he had to Manassas just five days before. Longstreet, as he had before, would demonstrate in front of Pope, trying to keep the Yankee's attention fixed away from the flank Jackson intended to turn. That done, Longstreet would follow in Jackson's wake by a half day, northward to the Little River Turnpike, then southeastward on the turnpike toward Fairfax Courthouse. Stuart, with Beverly Robertson's and Fitz Lee's brigades, would screen the movement. Lee told Jackson

of his leading role late that August 31 morning. "Good!" Jackson said simply, and rode away.⁵

After stuffing their haversacks full of rations, Jackson's three divisions started. Soon after noon, the column splashed across Catharpin Run at Sudley Mill, moved north a few hundred yards, and then turned right onto Gum Springs Road, which would lead them to the Little River Turnpike. Pelted by rain (it always seemed to rain the day after battles, many men noted), the column jolted along at about a mile an hour—uncommonly slow for Jackson, but a pace he excused this day. The men marched, as was customary, in ignorance. "There is much speculation but no knowledge of our destination," wrote one diarist.⁶

While Jackson's column plodded along, Stuart and his two brigades breezed ahead. During the afternoon, they scattered two Union cavalry patrols—in the process giving the Yankees



August 28, 1862: Retreat of the Army of the Rappahannock, commanded by General Pope, from Warrenton Junction to Groveton and Manassas Junction, Virginia. *Forbes drawing; Library of Congress*

AT 8:00 A.M. ON SEPTEMBER 1, Pope reported his condition to Halleck—a condition that at least in his mind had grown desperate. His tone swayed back to gloom. “My advice,” he counseled the general-in-chief, “is that...you draw back this army to the entrenchments of Washington, and set to work in that secure place to reorganize and secure it. You may avoid great disaster by doing so.” To this Pope received from Halleck a quick reply. Pope was not to retreat immediately. If the enemy tries to move around the right flank of the army, Halleck told Pope, attack them. Then, if a “decisive victory” could not be had, he wrote, “I suggest a gradual drawing in of your army to Fairfax Court-House, Annandale, or, if necessary...Alexandria.”¹²

With that, the Union program for the day was set. If Pope found Lee along the Little River Turnpike, he would attack. If not, a general movement toward the Washington defenses would continue.

For the moment, though, the initiative lay squarely with Robert E. Lee and the Confederates. When Jackson arose the morning of September 1, he learned from Stuart of his adventures of the previous day: a Yankee patrol captured, a Union force along the Little River Turnpike at Germantown. None of this deterred Jackson from continuing the program set out the day before by Lee. Ten more miles of marching would take Jackson’s Foot Cavalry to Fairfax Court House. There, Jackson hoped, he would sit squarely astride the Union retreat route.¹³

The column started at 7:00 a.m., with Starke’s division leading. Jackson probably sensed that Pope suspected his movement, so he moved cautiously.

Throughout the day, Fitz Lee’s cavalry and some infantry skirmished with Yankees probing northward to find Jackson out. More cavalry pushed to the front, again appearing in front of Germantown. Again a few shots sufficed to reveal the Yankees in force. The shots also revealed much to the Yankees. The skirmishing of the morning gave Pope his first hard information that Jackson’s main body was moving toward the Union rear.¹⁴

While skirmishers and artillery banged away lazily on the front and flanks, Jackson halted the head of his column at Chantilly, four miles from Germantown. It was obvious now that the Federals suspected his movement. Mindful of Lee’s desire to chance little in this movement, Jackson decided to wait for Longstreet to close up before testing the Union position at Germantown. It would, however, be many hours before Longstreet arrived, and in the meantime Jackson put himself at the foot of a tree and took a nap.¹⁵

By 11:00 a.m. on September 1 John Pope had deduced Jackson’s design and decided on a response of his own. The enemy was deploying on the Little River Turnpike, he told Halleck, ready to move on Fairfax. “This movement turns Centreville and interposes between us and Washington, and will force me to attack his advance, which I shall do as soon as his movement is sufficiently developed” he wrote. “The fight will necessarily be desperate.” Then, he added ominously, “I hope you will make all preparations to make a vigorous defense of the entrenchments around Washington.”¹⁶

Despite the foreboding tone, Pope responded well to the emergency. His greatest friend at the moment was, ironically, Jackson, who slept soundly beneath

that tree near Chantilly, giving Pope extra hours. Pope began a massive buildup of troops at Germantown, astride Jackson’s expected advance. He put Fighting Joe Hooker, whose division had been wrecked on the other side of Bull Run, in command of the Germantown defenses. By 3:00 p.m. Hooker had six brigades in line at Germantown to bar Jackson’s path. The Warrenton Turnpike toward Fairfax was jammed with still more Union troops, heading east. Pope sent word to them: “Hold on to your position [at Germantown] to the last.” Wrote one soldier, “We resolved to fight as desperate men and win the victory or die on the field.”¹⁷

Pope could not be certain that Jackson—who was not known for conveying the luxury of time to Union generals—would give the Union army time to put the Germantown line into place. To gain some more time, Pope concluded to create a “defense in depth” along the Little River Turnpike. He accordingly ordered General Isaac Stevens of the Ninth Corps (which had done relatively little fighting at Second Bull Run) to take Ox Road across to the Little River Turnpike and establish a position two miles west of Germantown. Pope knew Stevens might not be strong enough to hold such a position by himself, but he knew too that Jackson would at least have to expend some men and (more importantly) time to fight his way through Stevens to Germantown. Soon after 1:00 p.m., Isaac Stevens received his orders. He took his own and Jesse Reno’s division (Reno was sick) and started on what would prove to be a dramatic and deadly assignment.¹⁸

Pope’s greatest aid that day was the time allowed him by Jackson’s mid-



Centreville, Virginia, August 31, 1862: Retreat of the Army of the Rappahannock after the Battle of Second Bull Run. *Forbes drawing; Library of Congress*

morning stop at Chantilly. When Jackson awoke at midday, he probably sensed that the freewheeling movement to the Union rear he had sought could not happen. If the Confederates were to get to the Union retreat route along the Warrenton Turnpike, Jackson knew they would have to fight to get there. By noon on September 1, Jackson knew that Longstreet had closed to within a couple hours' march—close enough to offer support should Jackson run into problems. The Virginian arose and ordered his columns back on the road, toward Germantown.¹⁹

Starke's division, as before, led. Lawton followed. The march, wrote one of Jackson's soldiers, "was conducted with more than usual caution." Each division deployed skirmishers 200 yards to the right of its column, watching for the advance of Yankees from the direction of the Warrenton Turnpike. For two hours the column marched along fitfully, stopping with every hint of danger. Past Old Chantilly Post office they tramped. Two miles beyond they crested Ox Hill at the turnpike's intersection with Ox Road, where they found Stuart's troopers. The distant "pop, pop, pop" of rifles indicated that the cavalrymen had found Federals in front.²⁰

With Jackson now on hand, J.E.B. Stuart finally decided to try to force the Federal position astride the Little River pike. He unlimbered a couple pieces of artillery and pushed a strong skirmish line down the southeastern slope of Ox Hill. Some of Starke's infantry joined the advance too and for a few moments a heavy rattle of musketry echoed across the Difficult Run bottom. The Confederates received the worst of it. "It was plainly visible that the enemy

would here make a stand," Stuart recorded. Jackson's route to Fairfax Court-house was barred.²¹

This was a decisive moment in the campaign. Indeed, from the Confederates' perspective, the discovery of Yankees in force at Germantown marked the campaign's practical conclusion. Given Lee's desire to do battle only on the most favorable terms, Jackson had no idea of fighting his way through the Germantown line. The Confederate generals could take solace in the fact that the flank march had cost Jackson little and much had been gained. The Federals seemed to have abandoned the Centreville lines completely and accelerated their retreat to the Washington defenses. No, there would be no Confederate attack that afternoon. Jackson concluded to wait for Lee and Longstreet to come up to decide what should be done next.

Those two officers were still some distance away, and until they arrived Jackson had to attend to the security of his own position at Ox Hill. He had little fear that the Federals in front of Germantown would attack him. He therefore left his divisions in marching column. But he was leery of a Federal force approaching his right flank from the direction of the Warrenton Turnpike, less than two miles to the south, down Ox Road.²² To guard against such a move he dispatched skirmishers into the fields and woods to the south, astride Ox Road. It was a precaution that would pay big dividends.

That was because at that moment Union general Isaac Ingalls Stevens was leading the Federal Ninth Corps north toward Jackson's flank. Isaac Stevens was an astute, some would say brilliant man, who graduated first in the West Point class of 1839. A shade over five feet tall,

"My advice, is that...you draw back this army... reorganize and secure it. You may avoid great disaster by doing so."

—Henry Halleck

Stevens had been severely wounded in Mexico, was prewar governor of the Washington Territory, and freely engaged in the mayhem of the 1860 election. Stevens' performance this far in the war had been undistinguished, but his reputation waxed nonetheless. By late summer 1862 there were whispers that he might eventually command the Army of the Potomac.²³

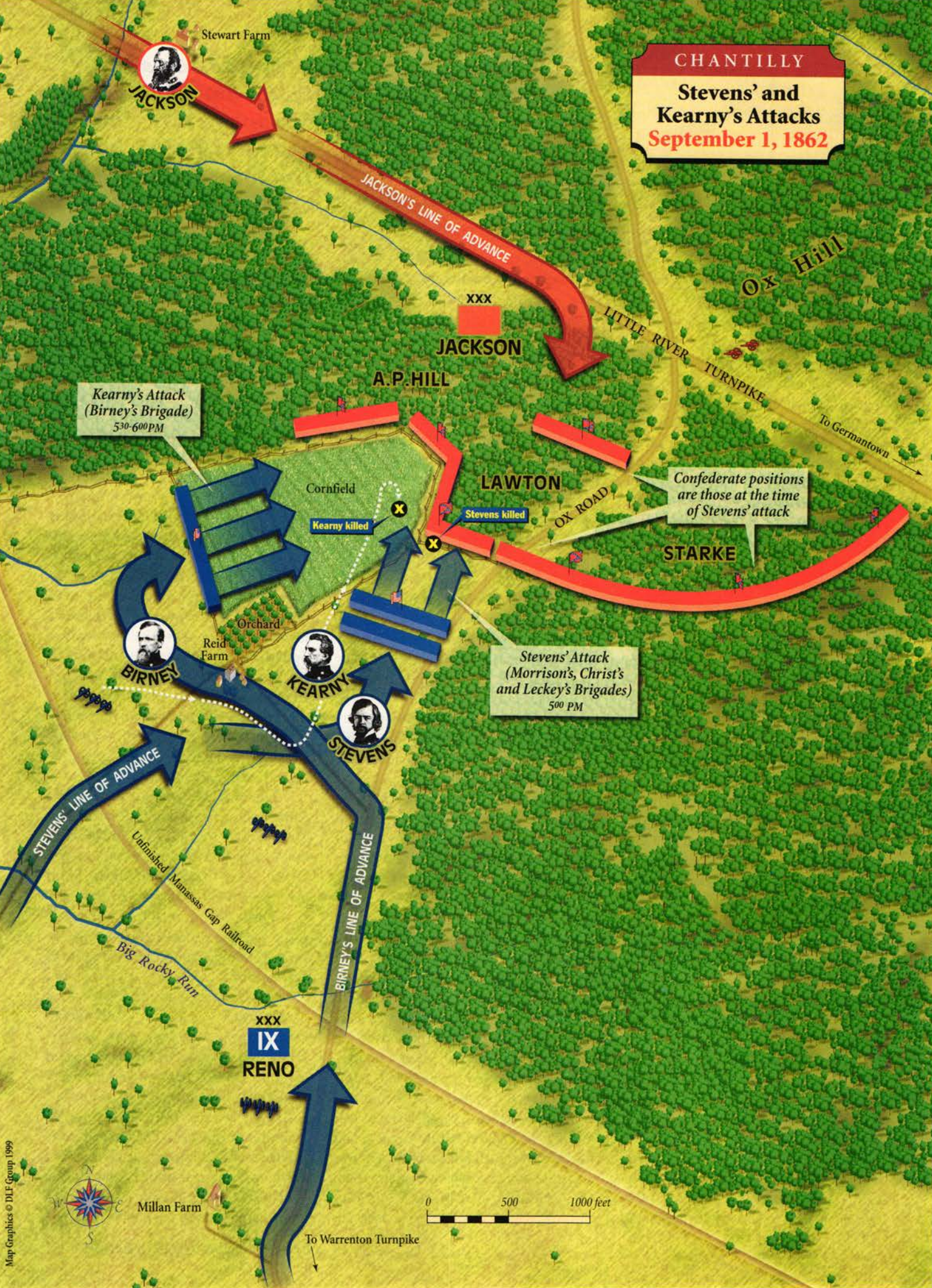
That September 1 afternoon, Stevens, with Jesse Reno sick, found himself in command of the Ninth Corps. Stevens had left Centreville at about 2:00 p.m. with orders to march cross-country from the Warrenton Turnpike to the Little River Turnpike, form astride the road west of Germantown and delay Jackson's advance. Guided by two cavalrymen assigned him by Pope, Stevens moved quickly, marching east on the Warrenton Turnpike for about two miles. Then, turning onto an old cart path that barely accommodated his column, Stevens traced a meandering course north, toward the Little River Turnpike.

After two miles on this twisting little path Stevens emerged into elevated open ground just west of Widow Millan's house, "Oakley", the former home of War of 1812 hero Colonel John Millan. From here Stevens could see much, and what he saw startled him. In front, only 200 yards away, were Jackson's skirmishers, spread out along an unfinished railroad excavation.²⁴

Stevens quickly went to work. First he deployed two companies of his old regiment, the 79th New York, as skirmishers. Supervised by Stevens' son and adjutant, Hazard, the New Yorkers swept across the fields toward the unfinished railroad, where they encountered Jackson's skirmishers. The Confederates yielded easily, falling back across the Reid Farm and into the woods beyond. The Federals followed, chasing a few laggard Confederates out of the Reid House. The

CHANTILLY

Stevens' and
Kearny's Attacks
September 1, 1862



JACKSON

Stewart Farm

JACKSON'S LINE OF ADVANCE

XXX

JACKSON

A.P. HILL

Ox Hill

LITTLE RIVER TURNPIKE

To Germantown

Kearny's Attack
(Birney's Brigade)
5:30-6:00 PM

Cornfield

Kearny killed

LAWTON

Stevens killed

Confederate positions
are those at the time
of Stevens' attack

STARKE

Stevens' Attack
(Morrison's, Christ's
and Leckey's Brigades)
5:00 PM



BIRNEY

Reid Farm



KEARNY



STEVENS

STEVEN'S LINE OF ADVANCE

BIRNEY'S LINE OF ADVANCE

Unfinished Manassas Gap Railroad

Big Rocky Run

XXX
IX
RENO

Millan Farm

To Warrenton Turnpike

0 500 1000 feet





Isaac I. Stevens, *Library of Congress*

Stevens had no idea of Jackson's strength and he must have prepared for his assault with some trepidation.

elderly occupants of the house, apparently hopeful of talking the Federals out of starting a battle on their farm, tried to parley with the Yankees. "We haven't seen any Southern soldiers about here at all," they said with mock innocence, "and we hope there won't be any fighting about the house!" But the sharp report of rifles in the fields outside put an end to their pleadings. The Federal skirmishers picked up and pushed on.²⁵

The Confederate fire began to sting the left of the skirmish line, so Stevens deployed another five companies of the 100th Pennsylvania to the left of two companies of New Yorkers. As the Federals entered the Reid's corn field—passing over a few Confederate dead and wounded—the distant woodland erupted with Confederate musketry fire. The Yankee skirmishers ducked into the corn rows and beat a hasty retreat to the southern edge of the field. Only one Confederate regiment ventured to follow, but by then Stevens had gotten up Captain Samuel Benjamin's four-gun battery and placed it on a low knoll just west of Ox Road. Benjamin's gunners opened fire on the Confederate regiment and drove it back into the timber.²⁶

Meanwhile the Yankee skirmishers held tight to the southern edge of the cornfield and orchard. For some of the Federals, the temptation of the green apples in Farmer Reid's orchard was too much. Those near enough tried to knock the fruit down by shaking the trees. But, remembered one New Yorker, "We found shaking the trees brought more than fruit, it told the enemy... just where we were, and their bullets rained into the orchard, severing twigs and bringing down as many apples as we cared to pick up."²⁷

Much must have run through Isaac Stevens' mind as he watched his skirmishers uncover Jackson's position. It was obvious Jackson was present in strength; it was too late, Stevens knew, to fulfill his orders to plant himself in Jackson's path and delay his move on Germantown and Fairfax (Pope had not contemplated the possibility that Jackson would beat Stevens into position). Was Jackson preparing to move forward against Germantown? Or, more ominously, was he going to attack southward toward the Warrenton Turnpike and cut off the Union retreat from Centreville? In either event, Stevens certainly realized, the Ninth Corps was in perfect position to do something about it. If Jackson wanted to push toward Germantown, Stevens could strike his flank. If the Confederates were planning to drive southward toward the Warrenton Turnpike, Stevens was in place to stop them. In either event, Stevens concluded, a quick, sharp attack against Jackson would serve a purpose.²⁸

Stevens and his staff quickly surveyed the ground in front; there were no geographic features, save perhaps the distant woodland, that would give either side advantage. To Stevens' right ran Ox Road, and beyond that was an extensive forest; there was little opportunity for maneuver there. In front (north) of Stevens, west of Ox Road and beyond the unfinished railroad, were the rolling open fields of the Reid Farm. This typical Virginia farmstead consisted of the main house and barn, in the center, surrounded by fields of various types. North of the house was a small orchard, tucked into the corner of a thirty-acre cornfield. Between the cornfield and Ox Road was a grassy field—probably for grazing cattle. Bordering these fields on the north and west were heavy woods, and beyond

them, 300 yards further, the Little River Turnpike and Jackson's columns.

Stevens had no idea of Jackson's strength and he must have prepared for his assault with some trepidation. He could count in his own division only six regiments totaling no more than 2,000 men.²⁹ Reno's division, which Stevens would use only as support, was hardly larger, numbering perhaps 2,400 soldiers. Despite the odds, Stevens called forward his own division and stacked the regiments in three lines. In the first, predictably, he placed his own 79th New York Highlanders along with the 28th Massachusetts, a largely Irish regiment (and a future member of the famed Irish Brigade). Behind them were the 50th Pennsylvania—mostly coal miners—and the 8th Michigan. And finally Stevens formed the 100th Pennsylvania (the "Roundheads", who had fought doggedly along the unfinished railroad on August 29) and six companies of the 46th New York. The weather might have given Stevens pause too. The clouds had turned ominously dark. The wind started to blow angrily. A thunderstorm was about to break, and fighting battles in thunderstorms was no certain matter (for "keeping your powder dry" became impractical). Stevens, however, had no choice.

Stevens was ready, but there were two final details to attend to. First, General Reno arrived with Ferrer's brigade and George Durell's Pennsylvania Battery. Reno was sick and in no condition to manage affairs that day and deferred entirely to Stevens, offering instead to direct traffic in the rear. Stevens suggested that Ferrer's brigade move into the woods on his right—east of the Ox Road—to guard the flank of the attacking column. Durell's battery would support the attack directly. Stevens ordered it to unlimber south of the grassy field. And one final detail: Stevens sent one of his staff officers back to the Warrenton Turnpike for help. If General Pope could not be found, Stevens told the messenger, deliver the message to any and all division and corps commanders he could find until he found one willing to join the attack.³⁰

Stevens' appearance along the Ox Road surely surprised Stonewall Jackson—if it did not surprise him it certainly dismayed him. This was precisely the circumstance Jackson had hoped to avoid all day, and coming as it did with large



Union Army of Virginia

MAJOR GENERAL JOHN
POPE COMMANDING



III CORPS

Major General Samuel P. Heintzelman



FIRST DIVISION

Major General Philip Kearny (killed)

First Brigade

Brigadier General John C. Robinson

20th IN, 63rd PA, 105th PA

Second Brigade

Brigadier General David B. Birney

3rd ME, 4th ME, 1st NY, 38th NY, 40th NY,
101st NY, 57th PA

Third Brigade

Colonel Orlando Poe

2nd MI, 3rd MI, 5th MI, 37th NY, 99th PA

Artillery

1st Rhode Island Light Artillery, Battery E;

1st United States, Battery K



IX ARMY CORPS

Major General Jesse L. Reno



FIRST DIVISION

Brigadier General I. Stevens (killed)

First Brigade

Colonel Benjamin C. Christ

8th MI, 50th PA

Second Brigade

Colonel Daniel Leasure

46th NY, 100th PA

Third Brigade

Colonel Addison Farnsworth

28th MA, 79th NY

Artillery

Massachusetts Light Artillery 8th Battery

2nd U.S. Artillery, Battery E



SECOND DIVISION

Major General Jesse L. Reno

First Brigade

Colonel James Nagle

2nd MD, 6th NH, 48th PA

xxx = corps, xx = division

numbers of Yankees directly in his front too put him in an awkward, perhaps dangerous, position. But it also left him with few alternatives. Stevens, and whoever followed him, had to be dealt with.

Upon learning of Stevens' approach, Jackson quickly deployed two brigades of Hill's division: Branch's and J.M. Brockenbrough's (formerly Field's). Forming into line of battle in the woods south of the turnpike, the two brigades pushed forward toward the Reid Farm, Branch on the right, Brockenbrough on the left. They arrived in time to meet Stevens' skirmish line coming across the cornfield. One volley broke the Yankees and drove them back.³¹

It soon became evident, however, that there were more than just Union skirmishers on Branch's and Brockenbrough's fronts. Benjamin's guns opened on the Confederates and soon Stevens' division started across the fields. Jackson, who was back along the turnpike, hurriedly made his dispositions. Starke's division anchored the left, its left flank resting on the Little River Turnpike, its right falling just short of Ox Road. (Starke's position was critical, since his left flank rested only 500 yards from the foremost reaches of the Germantown line.) On Starke's immediate right Jackson put Lawton's division. Trimble's old brigade, now commanded by Captain W.F. Brown of the 12th Georgia, was near the Ox Road. On its right was Harry Hays' Louisiana Brigade, now commanded by Colonel H.B. Strong, a greenhorn brigade commander. Strong's line extended as far as the north edge of Farmer Reid's grassy field, where it linked with Brockenbrough's brigade of Hill's division.³²

In the dense woods north of the Reid Farm Jackson withheld six brigades in case of emergency. Early's and Douglass' brigades of Lawton's divisions supported their own division-mates: Brown and Forno. A.P. Hill husbanded Gregg's,

Pender's, Thomas' and Archer's brigades. The battlefield, heavily wooded between the Turnpike and the Reid Farm, offered little opportunity for Jackson's excellent artillerists. A few of his batteries unlimbered on Ox Hill, north of the Turnpike, but the woods would prevent them from firing. For Jackson it would be his infantry's fight. All told he could count probably 17,000 tired and hungry men ready for battle.³³

Before all of Jackson's men could get into position, Stevens moved to the attack. The general and his staff dismounted, determined to direct the attack from infantryman level. At his word, the six regiments started forward. Across the unfinished railroad they went, then up the slope toward the grassy field and, 200 yards beyond, the wall of woods, bordered by a typical Virginia worm fence. "Not a sight nor sound betrayed the presence of the enemy," remembered Stevens' son Hazard. Into the grassy field the two lead regiments marched. Still the distant woods remained quiet. Captain William Thompson Lusk of the 79th New York predicted to Hazard Stevens, "There is no enemy there; They have fallen back; we shall find nothing there."³⁴

That was wishful thinking, for no sooner had the words left Lusk's lips than the woodline exploded with a Confederate volley. The Highlanders and the 28th Massachusetts reeled under the fire. The colors of the 79th tumbled; dozens of Bay Staters fell too. Captain Stevens tumbled with wounds in the arm and hip. Learning that his son was wounded, General Stevens called for a man of the 100th Pennsylvania to attend to him, then continued on. There was no time for sentiment now.³⁵

The Federals quickly recovered from this initial volley and continued forward, now with no doubt that they faced Jackson's main force. Durell's and Benjamin's batteries fired over the heads of the Union infantrymen, raising a racket and confusion among the Confederates, but doing little damage.³⁶ The Confederates in the woodline—Forno's,

Without its leader the attack of Stevens' division quickly lost momentum, giving Jackson's troops time to repair damage done.



Heintzelman



Robinson



Poe



Reno



Christ



Farnsworth



Nagle



Ferrero

Brockenbrough's and Branch's brigades—worked their guns feverishly and effectively, doing particular damage to the left of the 28th Massachusetts, which rested just inside the cornfield. Stevens could see that the Bay Staters were vulnerable, so he sent Captain Lusk to move the coal miners of the 50th Pennsylvania from the second line into the cornfield on the left of the 28th. The Pennsylvanians hustled to the assigned spot, disappeared amidst the tall cornstalks and opened fire on Branch's brigade. The bullets from both sides ripped through the corn; "The way we made the cornstalks fly between us was a caution," recorded one Pennsylvanian.³⁷



Above: an engraving from the September 20, 1862 issue of *Harper's Weekly* reporting on the life and death of the late General Isaac Stevens.

Right: "Death of General Stevens" from a painting by Alonzo Chappel (c. 1860s). Library of Congress

General Stevens rushed to the front of his old regiment, his beloved 79th New York "Highlanders". He found the color bearer, a grizzled old Scotsman named Sandy Campbell, badly wounded. Stevens tried to take the flag from him.

Campbell yelled, "For God's sake General, don't *you* take the colors; they will shoot you if you do!"

"Give me the colors!" roared Stevens. "If they don't follow me now they never will!"

Flag in hand, Stevens ran to the front of the regiment. "We are all Highlanders," he screamed over the roaring musketry. "Follow Highlanders; forward *my* Highlanders!"⁴⁰

Stevens waved the flag above his five-foot frame and rushed forward. The 79th nobly followed, as did the 28th to the left. The sudden pressure caught the Confederates unawares. At the moment Stevens attacked, Colonel Strong was in the process of trying to change his brigade's position (for what reason no one was able to surmise). But this was Strong's first battle as commander of the Louisiana



Brigade, and, as Early put it, "his want of sufficient skill in the command of a brigade caused him to get it confused." Instead of changing front, Forno presented no front to the Federals. The Federal fire "completed the discomfiture" of the Louisianans and they broke, streaming back through the timber. On the Louisianans' left some of Captain Brown's regiments wavered too.⁴¹

For Isaac Stevens this was certainly the most dramatic moment of his life—leading what for all the world looked like a successful charge against Jackson's vaunted Foot Cavalry. His regiments clambered over the worm fence border-

ing the field and into the woods. But for Stevens this most dramatic of all moments was also his last. Just after he vaulted the fence, a Confederate bullet struck him the temple, entered his brain and killed him instantly. He fell still holding the flag of the 79th New York.⁴²

Moments after Stevens died, the long-threatened thunderstorm broke. The wind doubled trees over and whipped blinding torrents of rain into the faces of the Confederates. Lighting crackled across the sky. Tremendous claps of thunder made even the hardest veterans wince. It was, said one Confederate, "one of the wildest rainstorms I ever witnessed."⁴³

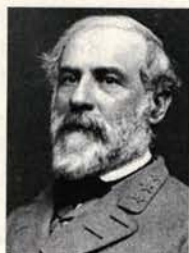
The thunderstorm, combined with Stevens' death, did much to save the Confederates from disaster. Without its leader, and with cartridge boxes soaked from the downpour, the attack of Stevens' division quickly lost momentum, giving Jackson's troops time to repair damage done. Most immediately, three regiments of Early's brigade, supporting Strong, jumped into the breach caused by Strong's quick departure and battled the Federals back to the grassy field.⁴⁴ Farther to the right Hill sent Pender's North Carolina brigade to the support of Brockenbrough's and Branch's men; two of his regiments became heavily engaged on Branch's front. Edward Thomas' Georgia Brigade, which had so stoutly defended the unfinished railroad at Manassas three days before, hurried up to support Brockenbrough's left. The Georgians, like Early's three regiments, drove the Federals back into the cornfield and restored the line along the edge of the woods. Gregg's brigade, the heroes of the Confederate left at Manassas, moved up to support. Perhaps fifteen minutes after striking the Confederate line, the Federals were back on open ground again. The firefight, such as it could be maintained in the driving rainstorm, continued.⁴⁵

While Stevens' division launched its attack west of Ox Road, Ferrero's brigade, ordered to screen Stevens' right, tangled with Confederates east of the Road. The woods there were extensive, visibility limited—both by the timber and the thunderstorm. Leaving the 51st Pennsylvania in support of Durell's battery, Ferrero sent the 51st New York forward first. The New Yorkers easily swept aside some Confederate skirmishers and

The renewed Union advance was brief. Jackson's three brigades held tenaciously to the woodline. Their flaming muskets brought the three Federal regiments in Stevens' front line to a halt 75 yards away. Stevens' three remaining regiments crowded to the front to join the fight.³⁸ But even this was not enough to get the Union lines moving again. Five color bearers of the 79th New York had been shot. Losses in the 28th Massachusetts were appalling. But Stevens knew that to remain in the open field, while the Confederates held the cover of the woodline, would be disaster. He had to get the attack moving again.³⁹

Confederate Army of Northern Virginia

GENERAL ROBERT E. LEE COMMANDING



LEFT WING (Jackson's Corps)
Major General Thomas J. Jackson



STARKE'S DIVISION
Brig. Gen. William E. Starke

First Brigade (Stonewall Brigade)
Colonel Andrew Jackson Grigsby
2nd VA, 4th VA, 5th VA, 27th VA, 33d VA
Second Brigade
Colonel Bradley T. Johnson
21st VA, 42nd VA, 48th VA,
1st Virginia Battalion
Third Brigade
Colonel A.G. Taliaferro
47th AL, 48th AL, 10th VA, 23rd VA, 37th VA
Fourth Brigade
Colonel Leroy Stafford
1st LA, 2nd LA, 9th LA, 10th LA, 15th LA
Coppens' Battalion



HILL'S LIGHT DIVISION
Major General A.P. Hill

Branch's Brigade
Brigadier General Lawrence O'B. Branch
7th NC, 18th NC, 28th NC, 33d NC, 37th NC
Pender's Brigade
Brigadier General William D. Pender
16th NC, 22nd NC, 34th NC, 38th NC
Gregg's Brigade
Brigadier General Maxcy Gregg
1st SC, 1st SC Rifles, 12th SC, 13th SC, 14th SC
Archer's Brigade
Brigadier General James J. Archer
5th AL Battalion, 19th GA, 1st TN,
7th TN, 14th TN
Field's Brigade
Colonel J.M. Brockenbrough
40th VA, 47th VA, 55th VA, 22nd VA Battalion
Thomas's Brigade
Brigadier General Edward L. Thomas
14th GA, 35th GA, 45th GA, 49th GA,

pushed into the woods far enough to receive a close volley from Starke's battle line. They returned the volley and the Confederates disappeared.⁴⁶

Sensing no danger—except perhaps from the raging thunderstorm—the 21st Massachusetts followed the 51st New York. The woods were close and the rain pounded the men. As the line moved forward it became broken by downed trees and thickets. Each man picked his way along, pushing aside brush and briars with one hand, holding his gun with the other. "The rain filled almost every barrel with water and rendered them useless," recorded one of the Bay Staters. After several minutes' advance, the men of the 21st spotted a line of infantry less than 50 yards in front, dressed in dark uniforms, though the rain and darkness made it difficult to tell who they were. The officers quickly called the companies together and dressed the line. Some of the men wrote Charles Walcott of the 21st, were "nervous and anxious." Many mumbled, "Those are rebels," but to others it was likely these darkly-clad soldiers in front were the 51st New York.



EWELL'S DIVISION
Brigadier General A.R. Lawton

Lawton's Brigade
Colonel Marcellus Douglas
13th GA, 26th GA, 31st GA, 38th GA,
60th GA, 61st GA
Trimble's Brigade
Captain W.F. Brown
15th AL, 12th GA, 21st GA, 21st NC
Hays' Brigade
Colonel H.B. Strong
5th LA, 6th LA, 7th LA, 8th LA, 14th LA
Early's Brigade
Brigadier General Jubal Early
13th VA, 25th VA, 31st VA, 44th VA, 49th VA,
52nd VA, 58th VA

xxx = corps, xx = division

Suddenly scattered shots came in from the right of the regiment. "Cease Firing; we're friends," some of the Massachusetts men yelled. The fire ceased for a moment. The soldiers of the 21st Massachusetts stood in line, guns on their shoulders. Then, to the Bay Stater's horror, the soldiers in the anonymous battle line opposite leveled their muskets and, wrote Walcott, "one of the deadliest volleys ever fired" ripped into the 21st. "In the sudden anguish and despair of the moment the whole regiment seemed to be lying bleeding on the ground," Walcott remembered. The men of the 21st still standing returned the fire, but more often got only the "snap" of a percussion cap than the "bang" of a rifle. Rain had soaked the charges beyond hope. Barely half fired. Someone in the Union line yelled that the 21st was firing on friends. Parts of the line, at least, believed the warning, and the fire of the 21st diminished markedly. After the first volley the Confederate fire slackened too, for their powder was now as wet as the Federals'. For several more minutes each line struggled to muster firepower enough to slaughter the other, but gradually nature put an end to the struggle and the 21st Massachusetts pulled back out of the woods, leaving behind more than 100 dead and wounded.⁴⁷

By the time the 21st Massachusetts streamed out of the woods again, Stevens' attack had spent its force, and the fight west of Ox Road had degenerated to a stalemate—a stalemate imposed as much by the weather as by tactics, for neither side could maintain much of a fire in the still-raging thunderstorm. Jackson's brigades had regained their places along the woodline and continued to fire into the grassy field and the cornfield. Branch, supported by a couple of Pender's regiments, held the extreme right. Brockenbrough and Thomas held the center, and Early's three regiments and part of Strong's reconstituted brigade the left, bordering Ox Road. Starke's division still held the woods east of the road, and thus

By the time the 21st Massachusetts streamed out of the woods again, Stevens' attack had spent its force, and the fight had degenerated to a stalemate.



Jackson



Starke



Taliaferro



Stafford



Hill



Branch



Pender



Gregg



Archer

far had been engaged only to the extent of the slaughter inflicted on the 21st Massachusetts.⁴⁸

In the grassy field and cornfield Stevens' regiments presented at best a shaky front. Durell's and Benjamin's batteries still fired from south of the grassy field; the 79th New York and 28th Pennsylvania, though shattered, stood firm; but the 50th Pennsylvania was inclined to abandon its position in the cornfield. The arrival of the 6th New Hampshire of Nagle's brigade, which moved into the cornfield to support Stevens' left, calmed the Pennsylvanians considerably, and the Union ranks held. Hold on they might, but Stevens' regiments were far too spent even to consider launching another attack. If the Federals were to resume the offensive, someone else would have to do it.⁴⁹

BEFORE HE ATTACKED, Stevens had realized that he would need help. He had sent back one of his staff officers to the Warrenton Turnpike with orders to grab any corps or division that would come to his aid. The staff officer found Philip Kearny and his division. There was some irony in the fact that Stevens' request for help went to Kearny, for Stevens and his division were on Kearny's bad list. Kearny had been peeved by Stevens' performance late in the battle on the 30th. On August 31st he had written his wife that "Stevens' people ran" and that Kearny's division had been "abandoned shamefully." He had also instructed his brigade and division commanders to submit reports detailing "the desertion of the hill, the key point, by Stevens' brigade." Now he was asked to support Stevens at a most critical moment. Kearny was not above letting personal feelings interfere with his performance, but now, with, perhaps, the fate of the army on the line, he put prior annoyances aside. "By God, I will support Stevens anywhere," Kearny

exclaimed, and by 5:00 p.m. his leading brigade, commanded by General David B. Birney, arrived on the field.⁵⁰

Birney quickly consulted with Reno, who directed him to join the fight on Stevens' left. But when Birney arrived, he found that Stevens' regiments had largely been rendered useless; most of their ammunition was gone. Birney lost no time in reestablishing the line. First he sent forward the 4th Maine, which quickly found that firing from the open at an enemy concealed in a woodline was an unequal matter. "Their bullets made terrible havoc in our ranks," said one Maine man. After only a few minutes in the grassy field, the 4th fell back a few yards to the cover of a fence line, where the men found that "our fire was equally effective, and our loss much less."⁵¹

The 4th Maine was not long alone. Randolph's Pennsylvania Battery, escorted by Kearny himself, arrived and unlimbered south of the cornfield. But more importantly Birney hustled up four additional regiments and put them into the cornfield to the 4th's left.⁵² "Look out for your ammunition, boys," the officers warned the men as they took position, "keep your powder dry." Then the regiments climbed over the fence and into the field. "Give it to them boys," yelled an officer of the 101st New York, and the Federal line erupted with erratic volleys. Until then the Confederates in the woodline could see little of the Northerners, but the flash of the first volleys betrayed the Yankee line. Hill's men responded with explosive volleys which made many Federals wish they had come nowhere near the cornfield.⁵³

The fight raged again with all the fury that had marked Stevens' attack. Cannon added to the mayhem, firing directly over the head of the blue infantry. "Their long streams of fire dazzled our eyes for a moment," wrote one of the infantrymen, "and the sharp concussion almost prostrated us upon the earth." The 100 or so yards separating the infantry lines gave the artillerymen little room for error. Hoping to avoid hitting their own men, at least one battery avoided firing explosive shells altogether. Others were not so thoughtful. One of Stevens' men concluded that the Union artillery fire "was as damaging to us as to the enemy."⁵⁴

The Federal cannon and musketry fire especially imperiled Branch's brigade,

on the extreme right of Hill's line. Branch's line was aligned on the fence on the northwest edge of the cornfield, almost perpendicularly to the rest of the Confederate line. This had served Branch's men well during Stevens' advance, for Stevens advanced obliquely across Branch's front. But now the axis of the fight had changed, and Birney's fire raked the right flank. Fearful that the Federals might advance, Branch quickly took the 18th North Carolina from the center of his line and formed it on his right, bent back facing the Federals. While this movement secured Branch's position for the moment, it did not entirely relieve the general's worries. His men were tired, but more importantly their ammunition was almost gone. Branch sent a messenger to Hill asking for relief. Hill's simple response: hold the position with the bayonet. Branch also sent an appeal to Jackson, telling Stonewall that his Carolinians' ammunition was wet and useless. Jackson responded typically: "Tell General Branch I have no troops to send him. The enemy's guns are wet also, and if pressed he must hold his position with the bayonet."⁵⁵

On the Federal line Birney had difficulties of his own. All of Stevens' troops, their ammunition gone, had pulled back to recover, leaving Birney's right hanging and vulnerable (Birney later erroneously called the retreat of Stevens' men "cowardly"). Birney pointed out the problem to Kearny, but Kearny did not believe him. Surely Reno would not be "such a fool" to permit such a gap; there must be Union troops over there. Birney insisted that there were not, and asked that Kearny bring up Orlando Poe's brigade to cover his right. Poe's brigade was not yet on the field, and Kearny still doubted Birney anyway, so he rode to the right examine the ground and, if necessary, hunt up what troops he could.⁵⁶

Kearny rode with all fury toward the right. The first regiment he found was the battered 79th New York, now just a "little band" huddled behind a fortuitous rise in the ground. "Scotchmen, you must follow me," Kearny said to them. The Highlanders told Kearny they had no ammunition left. "Well," said Kearny, "stand where you are and it may be you will be able to assist my men with the bayonet."⁵⁷

Undaunted but still desperate, Kearny next came upon the 21st Massachusetts, fresh from its debacle in the



Thomas

Lawton

Early

woods east of the road. To the bedraggled Bay Staters Kearny was an unwelcome sight. The fire in his eyes told them more work was in order. "For God's sake," Kearny yelled to the 21st, "march down into that cornfield."⁵⁸ The men of the 21st were willing, but they dallied, trying to get the wet charges out of their muskets. Kearny would brook no delay. "Under his sneers, threats, and curses we again moved forward," remembered Charles Walcott of the 21st.

The rain had by now stopped, but the clouds lingered and visibility was poor, so the Massachusetts men moved slowly across the grassy field toward the woods and cornfield. As the regiment neared the wood Colonel William Clark stopped it to deploy skirmishers. The regiment had been surprised and decimated only 30 minutes before, and Colonel Clark was determined it would not happen again. Kearny saw the stop not as prudent, but as hesitancy. He sent an officer to the Bay Staters, threatening to turn a battery on them if they did not move rapidly. The regiment resumed its advance—still slowly—and continued until a scattering fire came from the woods on the right. Some of the skirmishers came in, warning that a force of enemy troops was advancing from the woods on the right flank of the regiment. In the cornfield Clark stopped again and ordered the right company to deploy to cover the flank.

All this delay exasperated Kearny. Furious, he rode up to the regiment and in an "emphatic manner" ordered the regiment to advance. There were no Rebels in front, he insisted. Lieutenant Walcott differed with him, and to prove his point brought out two prisoners from the 49th Georgia of Thomas' brigade. "If you don't believe there are rebels in the corn," he said, "here are two prisoners from the 49th Georgia, just taken in our front."⁵⁹

"God damn you and your prisoners!" roared Kearny. Then, in what Walcott thought was and "uncontrollable rage," the general wheeled his horse and bolted in front of the regiment to see for himself.⁶⁰

He did not get far. Twenty yards away Kearny encountered a line of troops in

dark uniforms. "What troops are these?" Kearny asked. "The 49th Georgia," came the answer. Trying to bluff, Kearny calmly said, "All right," and then turned his horse. Suddenly one of the Georgians yelled, "That's a Yankee officer!" "Halt!" "Shoot him, fire on him!" Kearny ducked down along the neck of his horse and spurred his horse to escape. Ten, maybe twenty Confederates fired. Kearny fell. The bullet entered his buttocks and passed angularly through his torso. He was dead, probably, before he hit the ground.⁶¹

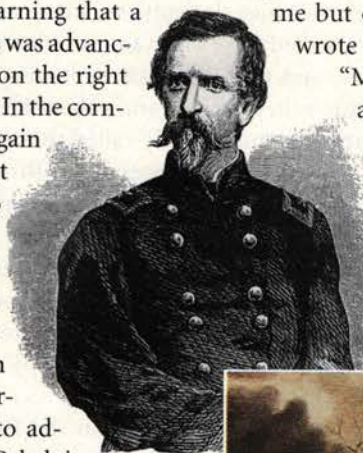
Kearny's mistake alerted Thomas' brigade to the nearness of the 21st Massachusetts, which by now was only yards away. The Georgians jumped up, leveled their guns at the 21st and, wrote Walcott, "in language rather forcible than polite" demanded "Surrender!" The 21st was in a box: the woods, filled with Rebels hard on its right, the 49th Georgia in the cornfield to its left. Colonel Clark ordered his Federals to fire, but fewer than 50 of the wet muskets would go off (Kearny had prevented the men from pulling their wet charges). Not so with the Georgians, who fired a deadly volley that wrecked the regiment's left flank. "Every man around me but one fell dead or wounded," wrote George Parker of the 21st.

"May I never hear such as cry as went up from that field again." Then the Georgians charged and for a few moments, in what Parker

called "the direst confusion I ever saw," the two lines grappled hand-to-hand. Colonel Clark could see that there was no winning this battle for the Bay Staters, so he yelled for the regiment to retreat. As best it could the 21st broke off the engagement and pulled back into the grassy field, some of the men walking backward to avoid the ignominy of being shot in the back.⁶²

By now it was almost dark; only distant musket flashes marked the battle lines. The cornfield was a muddy shambles—hardly a stalk was standing. Regiments on both sides were out of ammunition. Every soldier was soaked like an uncovered dog, shivering under a new north wind. Wounded and dead lay all around. Both sides sensed there was little to be gained from more killing. To their mutual relief, the firing slowly died away—the Federals still holding the southern edge of the cornfield and grassy field, the Southerners still holding the woodline. There would be no tactical resolution at the battle of Chantilly, only exhaustion and stalemate.⁶³

That stalemate came at a heavy price for both sides. The Federals lost probably 700 men, of whom 150 were killed.⁶⁴ These losses came at the culmination of a right-minded effort by Pope to protect his retreat route, though in fact the battle did nothing to change the outcome of the campaign. The most significant outgrowth of the Chantilly fight was the deaths of Stevens and Kearny—Kearny



An engraving (left) from the September 20, 1862 issue of *Harper's Weekly* reporting on the life and death of the late General Phil Kearny. "General Kearny's charge at the Battle of Chantilly" (below), hand colored sketch signed by Tholey (1860's), Library of Congress.



especially. He was, wrote one of his many admiring officers, "the most picturesque and gallant soldier that it was my fortune to meet during the war."⁶⁵

THE BATTLE COST Jackson about five hundred men, all in a battle that had no real potential to reap benefits for Lee and the Confederates. By the time Stevens launched his attack at Chantilly, Jackson had already halted the march toward the Union rear at Germantown. It is almost impossible to imagine—given Lee's intent to move into Maryland—that the effort to crack through at Germantown would have been resumed (had it been, Lee and Jackson would have encountered a virtually impregnable position that could not have been taken without immense effort or loss, or both). Rather, for the Confederates, the Battle of Chantilly represented merely the loss of five hundred more men that the Confederate cause could ill afford to lose at such a momentous time.⁶⁶

That is not to say, however, that the battle did not garner Jackson's undivided attention. It is not difficult to postulate

that Jackson must have viewed the encounter with great concern, for with Stevens' attack Jackson suddenly found the head of the column boxed on two sides by sizeable numbers of Federals. For all Jackson might have known, the attack by Stevens from the south portended an advance by the Federals holding the Germantown line, to the east—a circumstance that could well have led to Jackson's utter defeat. If Jackson thought thus, however, he was giving too much credit to Pope. Pope had no idea that a battle was being fought, much less one with promising possibilities. Neither, apparently, did any of Pope's influential subordinates. While Stevens attacked Jackson from the south, the Federals in the Germantown line, to the east, listened quietly, totally unaware of their opportunity.

The fight at Chantilly did little to relieve John Pope's anxiety and depression—indeed, he was in the midst of what was perhaps the greatest fit of depression ever to infect an American army commander in the field. Early on September 2, Pope helplessly warned Halleck that the Confederates would "again

turn me," as soon as they had forces enough at hand. He begged Halleck to come to the front: "Unless something can be done to restore tone to this army it will melt away before you know it." Pope conceded he could do no more: "The enemy is in very heavy force and must be stopped in some way."⁶⁷

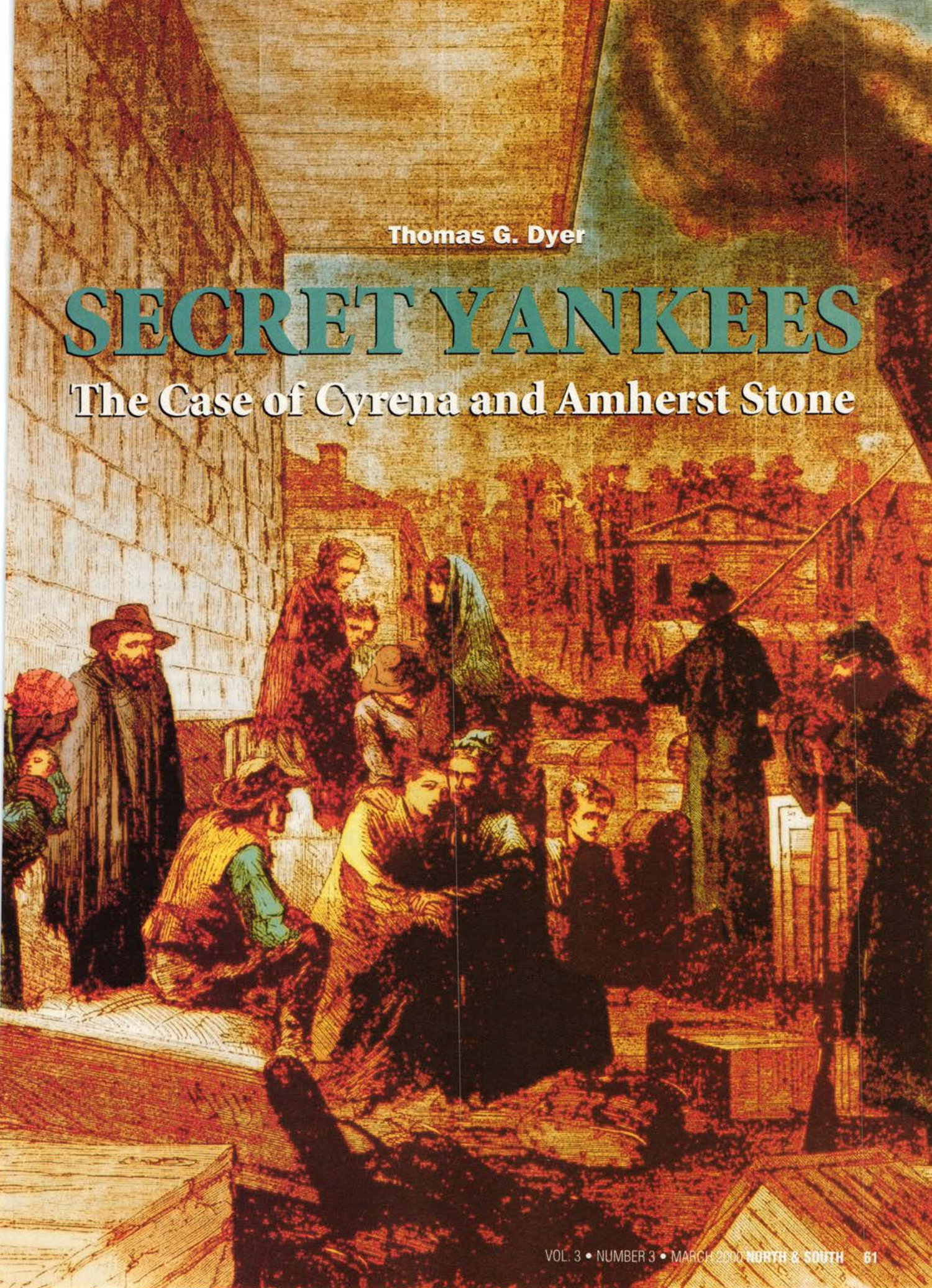
Fortunately for John Pope, Robert E. Lee intended to molest him no more—leaving him instead to suffer ignominy at history's hands. Rather, Lee turned his attention northward. "We cannot afford to be idle," he told his President. Three days hence, the Confederate army—Jackson leading, of course—splashed across the Potomac into Maryland, destined in a roundabout and arduous way for Antietam Creek. Chantilly, it turned out, was but a bloody wayside on a journey that would change the course of the war irrevocably. □

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Notes:

1. Hazard Stevens to John C. Ropes, January 21, 1897, Ropes Papers; Porter Ropes, January 12, 1897, John Ropes Papers, Boston University. Edwin B. Quiner, "Correspondence of Wisconsin Volunteers," Scrapbooks at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Vol. 3, p. 261.
2. O.R. XII, Pt. 2, p. 44; Letter of F[rederick] D[enison], *Providence Evening Press*, September 17, 1862; Edward P. Tobie, *History of the First Maine Cavalry, 1861-1865* (Boston, 1887), p. 87.
3. O.R. XII, Pt. 2, p. 44.; Pt. 3, p. 809.
4. Warren W. Hassler, ed. *The General to His Lady: The Civil War Letters of William Dorsey Pender* (Chapel Hill, 1965), p. 173.
5. There is relatively little source material pertaining to the development of Lee's plan on August 31. O.R. XII, Pt. 2, pp. 557-558, 566, 647, 743.
6. William Ellis Jones, Diary, August 31, 1861, Clements Library, University of Michigan.
7. This intelligence reached Colonel Alfred Torbert at Germantown at 3:00 p.m. and Pope very early the next morning. O.R. XII, Pt. 2, pp. 81, 538. Letter of James E. Jenkins, [Utica] *Oneida Weekly Herald*, September 16, 1862; O.R. XII, Pt. 2, p. 743, Pt. 3, pp. 809-810.
8. O.R. XII, Pt. 2, pp. 749; Franklin to Alexander S. Webb, August 30, 1881, Ropes Papers. O.R. XII, Pt. 2, pp. 538, 744.
9. O.R. XII, Pt. 2, pp. 682, 714.
10. O.R. XII, Pt. 2, p. 44. Stephen M. Weld, *War Diary and Letters* (rpt. Boston, 1980), p. 132; *Report of the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War, In Three Parts* (Washington, 1863), Pt. 1, p. 367; William Styple, ed., *Letters from the Peninsula* (Kearny, 1988), pp. 166-167; Hazard Stevens to John C. Ropes, January 21, 1897, Ropes Papers.
11. The words quoted here are McDowell's. O.R., Pt. 3, pp. 770, 771; Pt. 2, pp. 44, 81, 538; Patrick, MS Journal, August 31, 1862, Library of Congress.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 83, Pt. 3, p. 785.
13. O.R. XII, Pt. 2, p. 744.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 536, 667, 714, 744; Letter of Mark Newman, [Sandersville, Georgia] *Central Georgian*, October 15, 1862; William Ellis Jones, Diary, September 1, 1862. Robert Ross Smith, "Ox Hill," in *Fairfax County in the War Between the States* (Vienna, 1861), p. 33.
15. O.R. XII, Pt. 2, pp. 536, 714, 744; Edward A. Moore, *The Story of a Cannoneer Under Stonewall Jackson* (New York, 1971), p. 128. John E. Cooke, *Stonewall Jackson: A Military Biography* (New York, 1876), pp. 304-305.
16. O.R. XII, Pt. 2, p. 84.
17. Patrick, MS Journal, September 1, 1862; Letter of George Breck, *Rochester Union and Advertiser*, September 11, 1862; O.R. XII, Pt. 2, pp. 84, 85, 86, 414; Hooker's MS report, "U.S. Army Generals Reports of Civil War Service," Vol. 2, p. 661, RG 94, National Archives (hereinafter USAGRCWS). T. Harry Williams, "The Reluctant Warrior: The Diary of N.K. Nichols," *Civil War History*, 1957, p. 36; F[rederick] D[enison], *Providence Evening Press*, September 17, 1862.
18. Walcott, "Ox Hill," 150; Stevens, *Stevens*, 480; Ferrer's report, "U.S. Army Generals Reports of Civil War Service," Vol. 3, p. 283.
19. O.R. XII, Pt. 2, p. 744; Moore, *Cannoneer*, 128.
20. O.R. XII, Pt. 2, p. 714; James Sidney Harris, *Historical Sketches of the Seventh North Carolina Troops* (Moore'sville, 1893), p. 21. Letter of Mark Newman, [Sandersville, Georgia] *Central Georgian*, October 15, 1862; Moore, *Cannoneer*, 129; O.R. XII, Pt. 2, p. 744.
21. Cooke, *Stonewall Jackson*, 20; Gates, *Ulster Guard*, 283-84. Smith, "Ox Hill," 39-41.
22. Modern Route 608, today it is known as West Ox Road.
23. For additional details on Stevens life see Hazard Stevens, *Life of Isaac Ingalls Stevens*.

24. The Independent Line of the Manassas Gap—the same excavation that protected Jackson's front at Second Manassas.
25. William Todd, *The Seventy-ninth Highlanders New York Volunteers in the War of the Rebellion* (Albany, 1886), p. 217; H. Belcher, MS "Diary of Campaign in Virginia," Entry for September 1, 1862, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.
26. Stevens, *Stevens*, 482-483; Walcott, "The Battle of Chantilly," 151-52; William H. Huffman, "On the Fighting Line," *National Tribune*, April 13, 1899; Letter of John McKee, *Lawrence Journal*, Sept. 13, 1862.
27. Todd, *Seventy-ninth Highlanders*, 217.
28. There is considerable evidence to suggest that Stevens believed that Jackson was preparing to attack him, and that Stevens' attack was preemptive. See Walcott, "The Battle of Chantilly," 153; Stevens, *Stevens*, 482.
29. *Ibid.*, 152. Stevens' division was organized into three two-regiment brigades, each commanded by a colonel. None of these brigade commanders exerted any substantial influence on the battle to come, and in order to spare the reader confusion, the writer has elected to ignore the brigade designations within Stevens' division in narrating the battle of Chantilly.
30. Stevens, *Stevens*, 494; Walcott, "The Battle of Chantilly," 154.
31. O.R. XII, Pt. 2, pp. 647, 672, 698; Walcott, "The Battle of Chantilly," 152.
32. O.R. XII, Pt. 2, pp. 647, 714. The estimate of Starke's front is based on estimated regimental and brigade frontages. William A. McLendon, *Recollections of War Times* (Montgomery, 1909), pp. 123-24; Henry W. Thomas, *History of the Doolittle Cook Brigade* (Atlanta, 1903), p. 356.
33. O.R. XII, Pt. 2, pp. 672, 714; Jubal A. Early, *Autobiographical Sketch and Narrative of the War Between the States* (Philadelphia and London, 1912), p. 129.
34. William Thompson Lusk, *War Letters of William Thompson Lusk* (N.Y., 1911); Stevens, *Stevens*, 484-85.
35. Letter of R.A.B., *Pittsburgh Evening Chronicle*, Sept. 9, 1862; Stevens, *Stevens*, 484-85.
36. James M. Folsom, *Heroes and Martyrs of Georgia* (Macon, 1864), p. 130.
37. Lusk, *War Letters*, 180; Stevens, *Stevens*, 485; Harris, *Seventh North Carolina*, 21; Letter of W.H.M., *Pottsville Miner's Journal*, Sept. 13, 1862; Huffman, "On the Fighting Line," *National Tribune*, April 13, 1899; Andrew J. Morrison to his Brother, September 22, 1862, Morrison Papers, Huntington Library.
38. Wilbur P. Dickerson, "A Drummer Boy's Diary," *National Tribune*, Dec. 8, 1904.
39. Walcott, "Battle of Chantilly," 154.
40. *Northampton [Mass.] Free Press*, September 9, 1862.
41. O.R. XII, Pt. 2, p. 715.
42. Belcher, MS Diary, September 1, 1862; Stevens, *Stevens*, 489-90; Walcott, "The Battle of Chantilly," 154-55.
43. O.R. XII, Pt. 2, p. 647, 672, 714; "Chester" S. Bassett French, *Centennial Tales: Memoirs of Colonel "Chester" S. Bassett French* (New York, 1862), p. 45.
44. O.R. XII, Pt. 2, p. 714.
45. *Ibid.*, 672, 682, 684, 692, 693-94, 696, 698; Letter of Mark Newman, *Central Georgian*, October 16, 1862; Berry G. Benson, MS *Reminiscences*, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 112.
46. Ferrero's Report, USAGRCWS, Vol. 3, p. 283; Andrew L. Fowler, *Memoirs of the Late Adj. Andrew L. Fowler of the 51st N.Y.V.* (New York, 1863), p. 57; Jerome B. Loving, ed., *The Civil War Papers of George Washington Whitman* (Chapel Hill, 1975), pp. 63, 147.
47. George C. Parker to Mother Stone, October 15, 1862, *Civil War Times Illustrated Collection*, USAMHI; Walcott, *Twenty-first Massachusetts*, 163; Letter of I.B.G., *Fitchburg Sentinel*, September 19, 1862; Letter of G.W., *Fitchburg Sentinel*, September 12, 1862. Charles F. Walcott, *History of the Twenty-first Regiment Massachusetts Volunteers* (Boston, 1882), p. 163; Ira B. Goodrich, "Second Bull Run," *National Tribune*, May 4, 1883.
48. Letter of L.W. Avery, [Tunkhannock, Penn.] *North Branch Democrat*, September 17, 1862; James Huffman, *Ups and Downs of a Confederate Soldier* (New York, 1940), p. 62; James Garnett, "The Second Battle of Manassas, Including Ox Hill," *Southern Historical Society Papers*, Vol. 40 (1915), p. 237.
49. Lyman Jackman, *History of the Sixth New Hampshire Regiment in the War for the Union* (Concord, 1891), p. 88; Letter of Henry H. Pearson, September 5, 1862, Lewis Leigh Collection, USAMHI.
50. Style, ed., *Letters from the Peninsula*, 166; O.R. XII, Pt. 3, p. 771; Stevens, *Stevens*, 488. Kearny's division turned off the Warrenton Turnpike and marched up Ox Road to reach the battlefield.
51. Letter of "B," *Bangor Daily Whig and Courier*, September 10, 1862.
52. The regiments were the 101st New York, 3d Maine, 40th New York and 1st New York. O.R. XII, Pt. 2, p. 418. Stevens, *Stevens*, 488; J.E. Whitehorse, "The Battle of Chantilly," *Blue and Gray Magazine*, May, 1987, pp. 48, 50, 52.
53. Henry E. Ford, *History of the One Hundred and First Regiment York* (Syracuse, 1898), p. 39; Harris, *Seventh North Carolina*, 21.
54. Letter of L.W. Avery, *North Branch Democrat*, September 17, 1862; O.R. XII, Pt. 2, p. 420; Belcher, Diary, September 1, 1862.
55. O.R. XII, Pt. 2, p. 677; Harris, *Seventh North Carolina*, 21. The latter episode is related variously in many sources and, as Douglas Southall Freeman in *Lee's Lieutenants*, Vol. 2, p. 135, its origination and precise form is lost.
56. O.R. XII, Pt. 2, pp. 418, 436; Style, ed., *Letters from the Peninsula*, 191.
57. Lusk, *War Letters*, 180-81.
58. Letter of G.W., *Fitchburg Sentinel*, September 12, 1862; Letter of I.B.G. *Fitchburg Sentinel*, September 19, 1862; Letter of George C. Parker, October 15, 1862, *Civil War Times Illustrated Collection*, USAMHI.
59. One of the prisoners was probably Lieutenant Mark Newman, who described his capture in the [Sandersville, Georgia] *Central Georgian*, October 15, 1862. It should be noted, however, that Newman did not record seeing Kearny.
60. Walcott, "Battle of Chantilly," 159; Walcott, *Twenty-first Massachusetts*, 165.
61. For a discussion of the many accounts of Kearny's death see Style, ed., *Letters from the Peninsula*, 175-78, 181. The fatal shot has been attributed to Sergeant John McCrimmon of the 49th Georgia. See Folsom, *Heroes and Martyrs of Georgia*, 130. Letter of Marion Fitzpatrick, September 2, 1862, Marion Fitzpatrick Papers, Southern Historical Collection, UNC, Chapel Hill.
62. Walcott, *Twenty-first Massachusetts*, 165. That the 49th Georgia was on the left of the 21st is confirmed by a number of sources that state that the regiment's left companies suffered most. *Fitchburg Sentinel*, September 12, 19, 1862; Letter of George C. Parker, October 15, 1862, *Civil War Times Illustrated Collection*, USAMHI.
63. Diary of an unknown member of the 40th New York, in possession of Roland C. Spofford, Walpole, Mass; Fletcher, *Reminiscences*, 174; Ford, *101st New York*, 39; Letter of "B," *Bangor Daily Whig and Courier*, September 10, 1862.
64. As always, obtaining precise figures is impossible, as well as unimportant. For a discussion of losses in the battle see Smith, "Ox Hill," 61-62.
65. Frederick Floyd, *History of the 40th (Mozart) Regiment New York Volunteers* (Boston, 1909), p. 178; Style, *Letters from the Peninsula*, 188; O.R. XII, Pt. 2, pp. 45, 418; James H. Hayne quoted in Redwood, "Jackson's 'Foot Cavalry' at the Second Bull Run," *Battles and Leaders*, Vol. 2, p. 538.
66. Lee wrote that "the next morning it was found that the enemy had conducted his retreat so rapidly that the attempt to intercept him was abandoned." O.R. XII, Pt. 2, p. 558.
67. O.R. XII, Pt. 2, pp. 796-97.



Thomas G. Dyer

SECRET YANKEES

The Case of Cyrena and Amherst Stone

In 1976, a manuscript dealer sold to the University of Georgia library an eighty-page document written in long-hand on legal sized sheets. The content of the document indicated that it was a diary, although the form and character of the entries suggested that it was a transcription and not the original. The diary spanned the period January 1 through July 22, 1864, and was written by an unidentified woman of strong Union sympathies who lived in Atlanta, Georgia, during the period leading up to the cataclysmic battle and siege of Atlanta in the late summer. Possibly unique among diaries pertaining to the American Civil War, the document reflects the experience of a Union woman who recorded the frightful, violent tumult that marked the beginning of the death agony of the Confederate States of America. Aware of the danger of keeping such a journal, the diary's author carefully protected her identity (referring to herself only as "Miss Abby"), artfully obscured the identities of others who also belonged to a small community of Unionists living hundreds of miles behind the Confederate lines in the rebel city of Atlanta, and deliberately concealed information that might lead Confederate authorities to her or her allies.¹

THE STORY CONTINUES with a novel. Entitled *Goldie's Inheritance, A Story of the Siege of Atlanta*, written by Louisa Bailey Whitney of Royalton, Vermont, and printed in 1903 in Burlington by the Free Press Association, the novel hovers between history and fiction as it tells of a young Vermont woman who leaves the state to take a teaching position in Atlanta a few years before the opening of the Civil War. She remains in Georgia after the outbreak of the war, firmly maintains her loyalty to the Union, and secretly gives aid and comfort to Union prisoners held in Atlanta. Embedded in the novel are large unexpurgated chunks of "Miss Abby's" diary and other substantial sections, covering the years 1861 through 1863, which appear to be drawn from missing portions of the original diary. It quickly becomes evident to the reader that Louisa Whitney based her book on the same document that the University of Georgia acquired in 1976.²

The diary and the novel came together only after several years of tedious research in numerous archives and after an intensive effort to identify the author of the diary using both internal and external evidence. In the end, "Miss Abby" proved to be Cyrena Bailey Stone, half-sister of the novel's author, Louisa Bailey Whitney. The research led ultimately to a reconstruction of the membership and activities of a group of loyal Unionists who remained in the Confederate city during the entire war. The diary and the novel, together with documents drawn from many other sources, provide a basis for the story of Cyrena Bailey Stone and her husband, Amherst Willoughby Stone, Vermonters transplanted to Georgia during the late antebellum

period and who, once caught in the Civil War, became members of the Unionist circle in Atlanta.³

Cyrena Stone stood at the heart of the Unionist community in Atlanta. A person of courage and resolve, she personified a strict loyalty to the Union exceedingly rare in the Confederate South. Under conditions of constant stress and danger, she wrote her diary and in doing so made a record of a heretofore invisible portion of the American Civil War. Amherst Stone, whose loyalty would in time be more problematic, represents a more common type of Unionism, one that was conditional and even opportunistic but that still involved great hazards. The Stones' experiences and those of other members of their family illustrate the complicated character of national loyalty under wartime conditions of physical and psychological peril.

Cyrena Ann Bailey began life in 1830 in the northern Vermont village of East Berkshire, the fifth child of a Congregationalist minister and Yankee tinkerer, Phineas Bailey. Less than ten miles from the Canadian border, East Berkshire lies near the Missisquoi and Trout rivers within sight of the Green Moun-

tains. Situated in a lush valley amidst green, rolling hills, the village was relatively well-off, its prosperity resting upon the varied agricultural enterprises of the area. Reverend Bailey had a reputation as a hard-working, strong-minded, and devout pastor; more Calvinistic than Calvin, one commentator later noted. The area's natural beauty and Arcadian setting made life pleasant enough for the Baileys, but the minuscule salary Bailey earned as a minister kept his family on the edge of destitution in East Berkshire and later pastorates.⁴

Cyrena spent her childhood and early adult years in East Berkshire and a succession of similar villages in eastern New York, moving with her father and the family to ministe-

rial and publishing posts in Ticonderoga, Hebron, and Essex, New York. Her mother, Janette MacArthur Bailey, died in 1839 leaving the nine-year-old Cyrena to carry much of the burden of managing the family while Reverend Bailey, now nearly penniless, sought to avoid "breaking up" his family and dispersing the children. He soon found a new wife, added more children to his family, and took the entire brood back to East Berkshire when a call to that pastorate came again in 1845.⁵

Cyrena's childhood was filled with the elements of Bailey's religion – rigorous devotion to prayer, frequent church attendance, regular devotionals, daily Bible reading, and family fasting.⁶ Very little else is known about her early years. No doubt she was educated in the common schools of the villages in which she lived. She also seems to have profited from her father's emphasis upon learning in the home and in later years would show a literary flair, writing with a skill that exceeded



Louisa Bailey Whitney

Half sister of Cyrena Stone, and author of *Goldie's Inheritance*, courtesy the Mount Holyoke College Archives and Special Collections.

Frontispiece: The cover of Harper's Weekly for December 10, 1864, depicted Unionists fleeing from Georgia. Colorized by David Fuller; courtesy University of Georgia Libraries.

considerably the level of instruction associated with the common schools.⁷

Cyrena and her siblings also benefited from her father's inventive turn of mind. The elder Bailey had designed and perfected a system of shorthand based upon a phonetic design, and he taught it to his children who soon became adept at using the system in their studies, personal correspondence, and diaries. It is possible that Cyrena kept the original "Miss Abby's diary" in that obscure shorthand.

In her teenage years, Cyrena became a handsome woman with dark eyes, dark hair, and a lively personality—if her half-sister's partially fictionalized account of her life is to be believed and if she bore a resemblance to the same sister. While Reverend Bailey's firm hand and well-known aversion to dances and other forms of riotous living likely prevented her from having an extensive social life, she did take part in the round of activities common to the rural youth of northern Vermont, including chaperoned picnics and excursions as well as the more ritualized visits between families.⁸

It was perhaps on one of these visits that she met Amherst Willoughby Stone, four years older than she, the son of a prosperous local farmer, Mitchell Stone. Young Amherst had ambition and although he apparently did not attend college (there is no record that he attended any college in Vermont or neighboring states), he did study or "read" law in St. Albans with Homer E. Royce, a native of nearby Berkshire and a lawyer of growing prominence who would become chief justice of the Vermont Supreme Court. Admitted to the bar in 1848, Stone, like many nineteenth-century Vermonters, decided to emigrate from Vermont, encouraged perhaps by the abundance of lawyers in St. Albans and the abundance of siblings (five brothers and a sister) on his father's farm. Amherst looked to the South for opportunity. Why he chose Georgia is unknown, but by 1850 he had settled in the town of Fayetteville, approximately twenty-five miles south of Atlanta. Stone practiced law there and within a short time became active in civic affairs and participated in the founding of a local academy.⁹

In August, 1850, Cyrena Bailey and Amherst Stone married and began their domestic life together in Fayetteville. Two years later, Cyrena gave birth to a little girl whom they took to Vermont to visit family when the child was eleven months old. Sadly, within a few months after the visit, the child died a wracking death from consumption, moving Cyrena to find expression for her grief in a reflective essay that she wrote for an Augusta, Georgia newspaper. In 1854, soon after the child's death, the Stones moved to Atlanta, perhaps because of the greater opportunities awaiting a young lawyer in that new, but fast-growing place of five thousand people or perhaps in an attempt to leave behind the scene of their child's death.



William Markham

A leading Atlanta Unionist and a former mayor of the city (1853-1854), courtesy Atlanta History Center.

In Atlanta, the Stones soon began to walk among the emerging commercial and professional elite. Stone's position as a lawyer did not automatically guarantee that he would be able to move with the powerful; only six years later there were at least forty lawyers in the city.¹⁰ Nevertheless, the ambitious, resourceful Amherst worked his way into the network of business and commercial leaders who guided the city's most influential business enterprises. The Stones met some through church membership and found commonality with others like the prominent merchants Sidney Root and E. E. Rawson and the dentist H. L. Huntington, all of whom were also transplanted Vermonters. Less than two years after he and Cyrena had arrived, Stone took part in the founding of a successful bank and in an ambitious but ultimately unsuccessful railroad venture. As his legal practice prospered, the Stones became even more prominent, helping to found the Atlanta Female Institute and a new Presbyterian church.¹¹

With prosperity came property. Amherst soon acquired extensive real property and built a large home with several outbuildings, including a cotton house and a cottage on the outskirts of the city. He also acquired a substantial amount of cash—precisely how much is not clear, but at least fifteen thousand dollars.¹² In addition, Amherst Stone had other property. By 1860 the Vermont native owned six slaves, or "servants," as he and Cyrena (and much of the rest of the South) called them.¹³ Because of their backgrounds, owning other humans likely gave both of the Stones pause, although it appears to have given the greater concern to Cyrena. Her minister father had no truck with slavery, roundly condemning it and imbuing his family with biblical and moral arguments against the "peculiar institution." Slavery had reached into the Baileys' lives in a more direct way. Although a fierce opponent of the "peculiar institution," Phineas Bailey did not embrace the abolitionist arguments calling for immediate emancipation of slaves and refused to condemn those religious organizations that did not subscribe to those tenets. This position cost him his pastorate in East Berkshire when the congregation adopted a more radical posture and found a pretext for firing its aging minister who "felt that the liberation of the oppressed African race was but a part of the work awaiting Christian effort and that it was neither right nor wise, for the sake of this to oppose every other good enterprise."¹⁴

Amherst Stone's drive toward status and wealth may explain his decision to own slaves. Cyrena's position upon the matter is more difficult, but clues to her quandary and to Amherst Stone's views on slavery can be gleaned from *Goldie's Inheritance*. In the novel, the heroine, Goldie Hapgood, draws most of her character from Cyrena, although another persona, Amy Allen, provides a vehicle for dealing with matters like slaveholding, which the author cannot reconcile with the purity of the protagonist.¹⁵

In an early portion of the book, Amy, a teacher and close friend of Goldie's, is about to leave Vermont for Georgia to marry Egbert Fay, a New England lawyer who has emigrated to Georgia and who bears an obvious resemblance to Amherst Stone. Before Egbert left Vermont, he and Amy together had sworn that they would never own slaves, resolving "to keep our hands clean of it [slavery] forever,—never to own a slave, come what would." Just as Amy is departing, she receives a letter from

Egbert explaining that a client, a "religious woman [of] extreme old age," had asked him to arrange her business affairs and to dispose of her property which consists of "three slaves for whose welfare she was very solicitous." The old woman could die peacefully, she told the lawyer, if only he would agree to buy the slaves at, what Egbert reports is, a "remarkably low" price.

Egbert leaves the choice to Amy, who seeks the advice of Goldie Hapgood, fearing that a minister or some other "sage advisor" would offer only a "concoction of Northern prejudice, having no element of sympathy." Goldie presents an easy and quick solution. Amy should "do the most natural thing in the world, take a missionary view of it: you could do these slaves a great deal of good." "It looks right to me," Goldie goes on, "but it's queer isn't it? I would have said this morning that it was impossible to make you a slave-holder." How accurate the fictive explanation of the transformation of the Stones to slaveholders is remains open to conjecture, but it comports perfectly with a hoary and widespread justification for slaveholding advanced by Southerners and transplanted Northerners alike. Moreover, the general faithfulness of the novel to the life of Cyrena Stone also lends credence to the account.

Amherst and Cyrena Stone's slaveholdings included a married couple, a single female, and three children. Slave owning was relatively common among the Atlanta Unionists and would not have been interpreted as disloyalty to the United States. Both Amherst and Cyrena, like other slaveholding Unionists in Atlanta, professed strong views on national loyalty and opposed strenuously the secessionist alternative being discussed in Georgia and other Southern states.

How Vermont relatives might have reacted to the knowledge that the Stones owned slaves is not completely clear. There is no evidence to suggest that old Phineas Bailey ever learned that his daughter and son-in-law had become slaveowners before he died in 1861. Although not abolitionist enough to satisfy the congregation at East Berkshire, he would doubtless have been mortified at the idea of a member of his family owning human chattels.¹⁶

The comfortable life that the Stones had built for themselves began to appear threatened as the crisis of disunion intensified in the late 1850s and into 1860. During the summer of 1860, several Vermonters living in Atlanta returned to the North to visit family and friends and to contemplate whether to return South. Cyrena Stone, who habitually returned to the state to spend her summers, came home again as did other Vermonters like the Henry L. Huntingtons. Old friends and neighbors urged that the visitors remain in the safety of Vermont and not return South, warning that if war came Northerners would make quick work of their Southern brethren.¹⁷

Cyrena and the others returned to Georgia to find the crisis growing even more acute. In rapid succession, the election of Abraham Lincoln, the secession of South Carolina, and the call for a secession convention in Georgia gravely worsened the situation. Hysteria seemed to grip the state and the region. With the mounting tensions came sharply increased pressures against those Atlantans who held Unionist sentiments and especially against those like Amherst Stone, who had been a frequent speaker at meetings where the issues were debated. Atlanta newspapers favoring secession boosted the tempo of their attacks on those of Unionist views and even against those who merely

advocated cooperation with the North in settling the great national dispute. In January 1861, however, as time for the Georgia secession convention drew near, substantial numbers of Atlantans still favored a non-secessionist course, and when the votes for delegates to the convention were counted, approximately thirty-eight percent of the city's voters chose candidates who favored a moderate course. Nevertheless, an overwhelmingly pro-secession vote in the state convention took Georgia out of the Union on January 19, 1861.¹⁸



Office of the *Atlanta Intelligencer*

The paper issued frequent warnings about "enemies in our midst."

ONCE THE STATE BECAME part of the Confederacy, the ranks of its Unionists and cooperationists were decimated as thousands of moderate Georgians, forced to choose between loyalty to nation and loyalty to state, chose the latter. Radical elements now dominated in Atlanta and began a sustained effort to suppress dissent and enforce a single, correct view of the conflict between North and South. Regulators, investigating committees, and vigilance committees rapidly formed and were charged with determining "how every man stood." Those "who expressed Union sentiments [were] ordered to leave the state and a good many were whipped or lynched," one Unionist remembered.¹⁹ In the face of such pressures and within a matter of a few weeks, only a few Atlantans, probably no more than one hundred, held to a strict loyalty to the United States.

Thus, secession effectively caused the Unionist group to go underground and to exercise great care concerning what they said and to whom. Those who had published Unionist arguments now found it nearly impossible to express dissenting views without running great personal risk. And, as community pressures increased, vocal citizens like Amherst Stone became publicly quiet, although he and a dozen or so close friends met secretly to provide mutual support and to plan their futures.²⁰ To have written or to have spoken in "anti-Southern" terms insured a visit from a vigilance committee. Despite the threats,

however, Cyrena Stone continued to express Unionist sentiments and, using the pseudonym "Holly," published an essay that could easily have been interpreted as "anti-Southern." Written for the *Commonwealth*, a local newspaper whose editor was a Unionist, the essay lamented the passing of the Union and decried the "death-sleep of the fairest, the noblest Republic upon which ever shined the Sun," language certain to have engendered rage among the radical secessionists.²¹

Amherst W. Stone

Probably in his early forties, this likeness of Amherst Stone appeared in an issue of the *Denver Rocky Mountain News*.



The fall of Fort Sumter in April 1861 created dread and fear in the Unionist community in Atlanta. Cyrena Stone's Vermont friend, Martha Huntington, described the event as "the knell of all our bright hopes."²²

The fictional Cyrena Stone reacted to the surrender of Sumter with dismay but also with what would become a well-developed survival skill, choosing neutral language or words of ambiguous meaning to respond to the pointed remarks of ardently loyal Confederates. One visitor to the Stone household, probing Cyrena's loyalty, emphatically declared that P.G.T. Beauregard, the Confederate general commanding the assault upon Fort Sumter, should have immediately hanged the federal commander when the fort surrendered. "It seems to me that Beauregard took the wiser course [in sparing Major Robert Anderson]," a noncommittal Cyrena replied.²³

For Atlanta Unionists, unlike the vast majority of Georgians, allegiance to the United States superseded loyalty to the state but clashed with more intimate loyalties. Loyalty to neighbors and neighborhoods became moot issues as Unionists were systematically excluded from society and social relations at the most basic levels. Old friends now became avowed enemies and once-cordial neighbors became spies who watched every move of the hated Unionists. The same sorts of social exclusion extended even to the churches where Christian brotherhood dissolved into shunning. And on the streets children joined in the harassment, hurling insults and contempt.²⁴

Some Unionists also had to contend with situations of great difficulty when national loyalty collided with allegiance to family. These conflicts were heartrending and most often involved a decision by one of more family members to support the Confederate cause. In one instance, a strong Atlanta Unionist watched helplessly as his young son was caught up in war fever and ran away from home to join the Confederate army.²⁵ Even staunch Unionists like the Stones could not escape this most basic of conflicts. One of Amherst's younger brothers, Chester A. Stone, had followed his brother to Georgia from Vermont, arriving in about 1856. Ten years younger than Amherst, he lived with his brother and sister-in-law, clerked in a general merchandise store, established a sound business reputation, and became a partner in the enterprise in short order. Like his brother, Chester Stone entered the civic life of Atlanta and in

1857 enlisted as a charter member of the Gate City Guard, a local militia unit. During the secession crisis, the Vermont native leaned toward the South, displaying strong beliefs concerning states' rights. When war broke out and the Gate City Guard was activated to Confederate service, he chose the Confederacy and in December 1861 became the Guard's elected captain.²⁶

In mid-March 1861, orders came for the Guard to report for active service, and for two days a cheering rebel city turned out for sermons and elaborate ceremonies to send its first company to repel Yankee invaders.²⁷ Cyrena and Amherst Stone were likely in the cheering crowd that sent the military unit on its way from the Atlanta depot. The Stones were a close-knit family and both Cyrena and Amherst must have agonized over Chester's departure. Cyrena's responses to Chester Stone's decision and his leavetaking were anguished and emotional and illustrated in several sections of *Goldie's Inheritance*, which hint at the despair she felt when her brother-in-law decided to join in "the gay pageant of treason." At the train station, the fictional Cyrena's eyes "blinded with tears." It would have been hard enough merely to say good-bye to the younger brother who was going to war, "bad enough just to see him going to face danger and possible death; but the deeper pain to which neither . . . could be reconciled was to know that he was going to fight against the land of their birth, perhaps their own kindred." "A great shadow had fallen" upon the Stone household.²⁸

Chester Stone was soon fighting with his unit in the mountains of Virginia, and in the summer of 1861 Cyrena and Amherst had returned to Vermont for what would prove to be their last visit for several years.²⁹ The Stones, like many Americans, believed that the war would be short and would never have guessed that within a few months a passport system would be instituted and make exit from the South much more difficult. For now, however, they returned to the familiar confines of northern Vermont and visited with relatives and friends including Amherst's parents and another younger brother, Charles Birney Stone, who would soon become a Union soldier.

This journey to Vermont ended with an episode that would cast serious doubt upon the character of Amherst Stone's commitment to the Union cause. News of the Confederate victory in the war's first major battle at Bull Run reached East Berkshire on the day before Cyrena and Amherst were to take the mail coach for St. Albans to begin the long journey back to the South. The Union loss at Bull Run quickly became the dominant topic of conversation in East Berkshire, as it was throughout northern Vermont. According to one observer, the effect of the defeat "overspread the faces of all with gloom" and "was everywhere noticeable."³⁰

The Stones boarded the coach and were soon joined by another passenger. Introductions revealed that he was William Clapp, the nephew of an old enemy of the Stone family who bore the same name. The elder Clapp had feuded for years with the Stones, likely over business dealings with Amherst's uncle, James Stone. As the coach bounced along the road running beside the Missisquoi River, young Clapp listened closely to the conversation between Amherst and Cyrena. Clapp thought Amherst was "in the best of spirits as though he had got rid of some kind of restraint and was running over with desire to give vent to some kind of inward glee." It was the Confederate victory that gave Amherst pleasure, and in an undertone he told

Cyrena that "he had a good mind to wave a Confederate flag." According to young Clapp, Cyrena showed great distress at Amherst's comments and "tried to check him during the whole journey." The voluble Stone went on to predict the fall of Washington in a matter of a few days and that a Confederate victory would be assured within one hundred days. Cyrena pleaded with him to be silent. He refused. For the remainder of the trip to St. Albans, Cyrena cried softly.

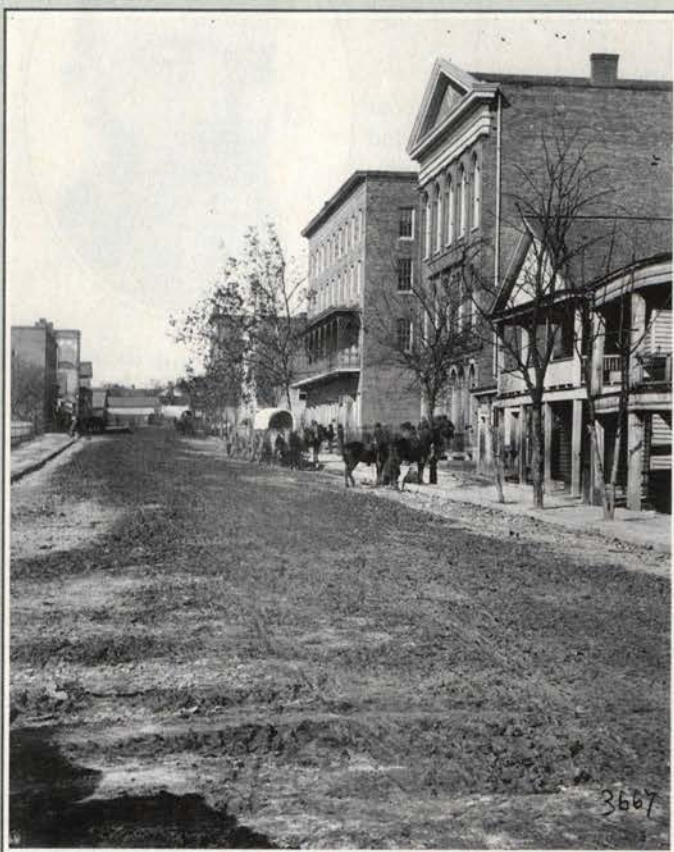
Clapp later reported that he was seized by a "fever of patriotic indignation" at Amherst Stone's "treasonable sentiments" and contemplated swearing out a warrant, but decided that it would be a "quixotic" undertaking.³¹ Within two years, however, the affair on the mailstage between East Berkshire and St. Albans would come back to haunt Amherst Stone with a vengeance. For now, the Stones continued their return to Atlanta.

Amherst's behavior compounded the clash of loyalties that Cyrena Stone must have felt. Chester Stone's loyalty to the Confederacy and Amherst's alleged sedition on the Vermont stage would have put wrenching emotional pressures on anyone and would have made the maintenance of resolute Unionism extremely difficult especially if, in private, Amherst Stone's loyalist sentiments were as fragile as Clapp's account of the ride on the stage indicated. But Cyrena Stone persisted in her adherence to the Unionist values she espoused and, as time would show, became even more aggressively Unionist and increasingly less affected by the disloyalty of her brother-in-law and the doubtful behavior of her husband.

In the fall of 1861, after the return to Atlanta, Cyrena pseudonymically published another essay in the *Commonwealth*, which superficially resembled other essays becoming common in Southern newspapers as casualty lists lengthened and early enthusiasm for the war began to waver. Written from the perspective of a soldier dying on the battlefield, the essay differed from archly pro-Southern pieces in the absence of specific references to the South or to the icons of Southern nationalism. Cyrena Stone wrote about all soldiers who were dying on the battlefields of the Civil War, not just Confederates as conventional Southern patriotism would have dictated. Perhaps the artful deception escaped many of the *Commonwealth's* readers or perhaps it added to the enmity toward Cyrena Stone among those Confederate Atlantans who suspected that she was the pseudonymic "Holly."³²

The early Confederate victories gave way in 1862 to several stinging defeats and to the realization that the war would be a protracted, bloody struggle. Concomitantly, there was a steadily increasing emphasis upon enforcing conformity and dealing forcefully with the Unionists and other enemies within. Throughout 1862, Atlanta newspapers constantly warned residents of the city to watch out for a panoply of enemies including spies, abolitionists, Lincolnites, "neutral Yankees," and, of course, loyal Unionists. Disloyalty was quickly equated with treason, and the newspapers urged the city to ferret out those who posed a threat to the Confederacy and the orthodoxy of Confederate nationalism. And in the increasingly tense atmosphere of wartime Atlanta, disloyalty, defined and redefined at will by the Confederate authorities, could be something as simple as failing adequately to support the Confederate war effort, or raising questions about the wisdom of the Confederate cause.³³

Such disruptive activities as armed resistance or sabotage would have been futile because of the small number of Unionists and because Atlanta was deep in Confederate territory. The Unionists found a mode of resistance to the Confederacy, however, that enraged the authorities and indirectly aided the Union cause. Federal prisoners began to arrive in Atlanta in 1862 soon after the battle of Shiloh. Only a few, housed in the poorest hospitals of the city, came at first, but in time their numbers would swell to thousands. Many were sick and wounded and received very little, if any, medical attention. With minimal rations and squalid living conditions, the prisoners needed help and they got it from the Unionists.³⁴



Looking Down Decatur Street

Unionist Bridget Doyle operated her store in a wooden building near to the Masonic Hall, the tall building with a peaked roof. *Library of Congress*

Cyrena Stone was among the most active of those who aided the prisoners. She, like many Atlanta women, frequently visited the city's numerous military hospitals where Union and Confederate patients sometimes were housed in proximity to each other. On various pretexts, she and her Unionist associates would manage visits to the Union prisoners, sometimes by paying small bribes of food or money to guards, or on occasion through the use of feminine wiles to distract them. Throughout the war Cyrena collected money for Union prisoners and then passed it secretly to them during hospital visits. Some used the money to buy food and medicine; others used it to aid in their escapes.³⁵ These were treasonous acts, filled with danger, and some of the many times when the actions of the real Cyrena Stone conformed to those of her fictional shadow, when the currents of the novel flowed parallel to the real occurrences in Civil War Atlanta.

Confederate authorities eventually decided to crack down on the Unionists and put an end not only to the aiding of federal prisoners but also to other disloyal acts ascribed to them. In the late summer of 1862, martial law was declared in Atlanta and the provost marshal of the city acquired broad powers to arrest and punish criminals and traitors.³⁶ Colonel George Washington Lee, the provost marshal, was a pre-war saloon keeper who managed to become head of a company of several hundred troops in Atlanta charged with the maintenance of civil order. Lee, whose checkered military career included charges of thieving, vowed to rid the city of traitors and in doing so launched a plan that brought about what Amherst Stone



James M. Calhoun

A moderate who, as wartime mayor of Atlanta, maintained close contact with the Unionists. Calhoun was typical of those members of the city's elite who harbored grave doubts about the Confederate enterprise, courtesy the Atlanta History Center.

described as a "perfect reign of terror" against the Unionists.³⁷

Suddenly and without warning on a Thursday in late August 1862, Lee and his men arrested at least eight and perhaps as many as twelve of the more prominent Unionists. Five men were clapped into one of the many Atlanta jails and three women were arrested as well. One of the men, Michael Myers, an Irish immigrant dry goods merchant, died on the day after his arrest, probably of the effects of a beating. The other men spent varying lengths of time in prison, ranging from a few weeks to several months.³⁸

Cyrena Stone was almost certainly one of the three women arrested and interro-

gated, the novel, *Goldie's Inheritance*, providing detail about the arrest, probably from missing portions of Cyrena's diaries. In this as in other segments that appear to be from the diary, the narrative bears the marks of Cyrena's literary style.

In the novel, rumors circulate through Atlanta that Cyrena has been hanged for treason but, in fact, she has only been summoned to a local hotel by "Colonel L.," the provost marshal, for a "grand investigation" into the possible existence of a Union organization of three hundred members and a plot to incite a slave rebellion. The fictional Cyrena, accompanied by an "advisor" (likely Amherst), arrives at the hotel to find other women, weeping and fearful, gathered in the lobby. She is the first to be summoned to a small upstairs room where a court of inquiry is presided over by "Colonel L.," assisted by a tall man "with hatred of the Yankees written on every feature," and by "a man of some sixteen summers who stood leaning against the bed in an artistic attitude." To the fictional Cyrena, "the room was so unlike the typical courtroom, and the court so lacking in real dignity, that fear vanished, and a sense of the ludicrous took its place." Citing religious reasons, Cyrena refuses to be sworn, agrees instead to affirm, and then evades the court's questions about the existence of a Unionist organization in the city. After less than probing questions, the court dismisses her and allows her to go free.³⁹

The fictional Cyrena Stone's treatment at the hands of the court of inquiry appears to have been more benign than that of the other Atlanta women summoned by courts martial during the "reign of terror," if the version in *Goldie's Inheritance* is to be believed. Mary Hinton, another Unionist woman arrested at the same time, described aggressive and probing questions about Unionist activities while the queries put to Cyrena and the general tone of the court took on a somewhat burlesque quality in the novel. Both accounts may be accurate. Mary Hinton did not have the same social standing as Cyrena, and Amherst was still an important and wealthy man in Atlanta, despite his Unionist reputation. Colonel Lee, the provost marshal, would have been more careful around the Stones, if only because of their connections with the city's elite. Mary Hinton, on the other hand, had just moved to the city and as a young, single woman had few ties of substance that might afford protection. In addition, she had the added burden of being the sister of Martin Hinton, who had been arrested and imprisoned as a Unionist spy only a few weeks before. Thus, it is possible that the novel's account of Cyrena's arrest and questioning is faithful to the truth.⁴⁰

The killing of the Unionist and the imprisonment of others badly shook Amherst, who later reported that the "reign of terror" continued for nearly six months. During that time, intense harassment, constant fear, anxiety to preserve his wealth, and the ubiquitous threat of conscription into the Confederate army led Stone to make plans to escape from Georgia and return to the North. Ever resourceful, he laid a complicated plan to flee the region, deciding to leave Cyrena behind until he could find a way to bring her out also.

In late 1862 it was still possible for men to leave the Confederacy, even those who were thought to be Unionists, but taking out entire families was largely impossible. In effect, family members became hostages, ensuring that the men would return. It was also quite difficult to take wealth out of the region, but Stone decided that as a part of his escape, he would not only try to salvage some of his personal wealth but he would also try to turn a profit.

Late in 1862, Stone learned that substantial amounts of cotton were being shipped out of Union-occupied New Orleans and sent to the North with the permission of federal authorities. This led Stone and some of his Unionist friends to organize a company to take their cotton out through the Union naval blockade of the Confederate coast. Blockade companies were relatively common in the South, but Stone's would be decidedly different from most. With the knowledge that Union authorities supported the exportation of Southern cotton to the North, Stone planned secretly to seek permission from the United States government to bring the cotton out and sell it in a northern port. He also wanted a guarantee that if the cotton were seized by United States vessels manning the blockade that it would be returned to him and the other Unionists who were party to the plan.

No blockade company could be made up only of Union men; thus, the newly formed company also included a number of loyal Confederates, although the Unionists owned a majority of the stock. The Confederate members of the company were not to be told of the proposed arrangement with the United States government; neither were they told that the com-

pany did not contemplate returning any other commodities to the South. "There were some men who subscribed something [funds] who did not know this fact"; Stone wrote, "we would not let them know it . . . We were afraid of them. They belonged to the rebel side and I have no doubt they thought it was a regular blockade company." Stone also audaciously sought the permission of the Confederate government to transport the cotton and with the assistance of Confederate Senator Benjamin H. Hill of Georgia secured the desired permission, but only after Hill represented that the company would ship its cotton to a neutral port and then return goods to the Confederacy.

Difficulty in securing a Southern steamer to take the cotton out gave Stone the opportunity to persuade the company that it should send him into the North where he would hire a northern vessel and also get the desired permissions from the United States government. With permissions from both governments, the chances for success would be greatly enhanced, and the venture would be as secure as possible in the chancy blockade-running business.⁴¹

The company agreed and Stone made ready to leave the city. Waiting until the winter had passed, he said good-bye to Cyrena in early April 1863 and began to make his way to the Union lines north of Richmond. The trip was dangerous—doubly so since Stone carried with him at least fifty thousand dollars in a mixture of financial instruments drawn on northern banks and including Confederate currency. Another man, George Briggs, was sent on a different route and also carried a large sum of money belonging to the company. Stone made it to Richmond safely and stopped over for a brief stay, (possibly to confer with Hill) and then sneaked through the Union lines into Washington, D.C., during the night.

Relieved to be safely out of the Confederate States, Stone soon went on to New York City and checked into the opulent St. Nicholas Hotel, a favorite haunt of politicians and expatriate Southerners. He stayed in New York for ten days, making preliminary arrangements for a steamer and paying visits to Cyrena's brother and sister, Keyes and Mary Bailey. While in New York, Stone deposited the fifty thousand dollars in a local bank.

Stone decided that he could complete many of his business arrangements by telegraph and mail, so he went on to Vermont for a visit with family and friends. Nearly two years had passed since he had visited his relatives, and he had had virtually no communication from them since the war began. He likely did not know until his arrival in East Berkshire that a younger brother, Charles Birney Stone, had enlisted in the Union army and had been captured in fighting near Drainsville, Virginia. After several months imprisonment in the notorious Libby Prison in Richmond, he had been exchanged just one month before Amherst passed through on his way to Washington.⁴²

Apparently preparing to close a deal, Stone left East Berkshire on May 8, 1863, to return to New York. Retracing the route that he and Cyrena had taken two years earlier, he went to St. Albans on the first leg of his journey. What Stone did not know was that while he had been in East Berkshire, his telegrams and mail to New York had been intercepted by the Union provost marshal in Burlington, Rolla Gleason, who was looking for him in St. Albans.

Gleason had been alerted to Stone's presence in East Berkshire by William Clapp, then collector of customs in Burlington and Stone's old enemy, whose nephew had overheard Amherst's braggadocio on the stage to St. Albans with Cyrena in 1861. The vengeful Clapp had "instituted inquiries" about Amherst and reported the results of his investigation to Gleason who ordered the interception of Stone's telegrams and letters to New York. Convinced that he had a Confederate agent within his grasp, Gleason found Stone, arrested him in St. Albans, and charged him with being a rebel emissary and smuggler. A surprised Stone readily admitted the blockade-running scheme, expecting that Rolla Gleason would be understanding, even sympathetic to the complex plan. Decidedly unsympathetic, Gleason turned Stone over to a deputy provost marshal from New York who, alerted by the fifty-thousand dollar deposit in the New York bank, had also been looking for Stone in connection with the proposed blockade-running activity. For good measure, Gleason alleged that Stone had also "indulged in conversation of a disloyal character—rejoicing at our defeats & rebel successes," a clear reference to the incident after the first Battle of Bull Run.⁴³

Having successfully escaped the South, Stone now endured the ignominy of being arrested in his home state in front of his old friends and neighbors and being transported across eastern New York to the military prison at Fort Lafayette in New York harbor. Stunned, shocked, perhaps even bewildered, Amherst Stone found himself in the exceedingly dangerous position of having been charged with being an agent of the Confederate government and at a time when the writ of habeas corpus had been suspended.

Stone was completely unprepared for prison life and for the stark, crowded, dank imprisonment that awaited in a cell full of Confederate officers in Fort Lafayette.⁴⁴ But he was resourceful, and he devised a plan for his release, informing by letter Secretary of War Edwin Stanton of the complete details of his background and the blockade-running escapade in the hope that Stanton would order his freedom.⁴⁵ Stone stayed at Fort Lafayette for about two months before being transferred to Fort Warren in Boston harbor where he appears to have successfully bribed a deputy marshal who brought him before General John Wool at the St. Nicholas Hotel in New York. Released from custody by Wool in July 1863 (he claimed Stanton was responsible), Stone took up lodging again at the St. Nicholas in the midst of the bloody New York draft riots.⁴⁶

During the next six months, Stone moved between New York, Washington, and Nashville, Tennessee, trying to put the blockade scheme together and also seeking the aid of L.C. Turner, the United States judge associate advocate general, in



Nedom Angier

New Hampshire born, physician and real estate investor, had lived in Atlanta since 1847. He escaped from the Confederacy in 1864.

Atlanta History Center.

getting Cyrena out of Atlanta. Stone claimed that his wife was "sick and distressed on account of my absence" and Turner gave him permission to return to Atlanta—a permission he never used, claiming that Cyrena had gotten word to him in Nashville that his return would bring, at the very least, certain imprisonment. Stone went back to New York, made preparations to go into business (presumably to practice law), and settled in at the St. Nicholas.⁴⁷

On January 30, 1864, he was arrested again and reimprisoned in Fort Lafayette as a result of the energetic vendetta of William Clapp and his enthusiastic collaborator, Rolla Gleason, and in connection with the alleged bribe. During this imprisonment, Stone had a great deal more difficulty in getting the attention of civil or military authorities and remained in Fort Lafayette for more than eight months, awaiting trial by a military commission, but held without a formal charge for the entire period. Finally, he managed to hire Benjamin Baily, a lawyer from Putnam County, New York, who visited the White House in August 1864 and obtained a note from Abraham Lincoln to an official in the War Department regarding the case. The official was probably Assistant Secretary of War Charles A. Dana who had shown some interest in Stone's case since the late spring. It is possible that Stone had some prior connection to Dana, who had lived in Vermont, and may have contacted Dana, who set in motion a chain of events that led to Stone's release from Fort Lafayette in mid-September 1864.⁴⁸

AMHERST STONE PLUNGED BACK INTO THE LIFE of a free man with vigor and characteristic guile, promoting himself and seeking the acquaintance of influential men. Among others, he attracted the attention of Henry J. Raymond, editor of the *New York Times*, and chairman of the National Union Executive Committee, Abraham Lincoln's re-election campaign organization. Stone volunteered his services to Raymond to aid in Lincoln's campaign. Raymond had evidently heard Stone orate and wrote to Union General John A. Dix asking that Stone's bond money (probably the fifty thousand dollars) be released. "He wants to take the stump for the Union cause," Raymond wrote, "but wants these bonds discharged first." The bond was released and if Stone did campaign for Lincoln, it is not hard to imagine that in his campaign rhetoric he would have identified himself as an exiled Southerner who, having escaped from the South and having remained true to the Union, could now freely support the reelection of a president who had preserved the Union. That is how he saw himself in later life and that is how he presented himself to others after the war was over.⁴⁹

While Amherst was in the North, Cyrena remained in Atlanta. And although kept company during his absence of nearly two years by their slaves and white servants, and a menagerie of pets—cats, a dog, a dove—she sometimes thought of herself as "alone on the hill" where the Stone house stood, alone "with no husband or brother near," although Chester Stone, now enrolled in the local militia, occasionally spent some time with her. The surviving fragment of the diary that Cyrena Stone kept, however, does not reveal a person who dwelled upon loneliness or isolation. Instead, it shows a woman almost always able to deal effectively and confidently with a situation of great difficulty and peril and who, in the space of seven months of jour-

nal keeping, mentions her absent husband only two or three times. Cyrena Stone showed great courage and self-reliance in the face of cataclysm.

During these years, Cyrena Stone led a life governed by her ardent patriotism and a passionate commitment to the Union. Life for her in the months before the destruction of Atlanta was a mixture of risk taking, unwavering longing for the appearance of the Union armies, and a daily routine that blended the remnants of a comfortable existence with fast-increasing privation and struggle. She did not attempt to flee the city as the Union armies approached. "This is my home," she wrote on the eve of the battle for Atlanta, "& I wish to protect it if possible. There may be no battle here—if not I am safe; if there is one, where is any safety?"⁵⁰

Sometimes Cyrena longed for Vermont and the comforting majesty of the natural environment wishing that she might "see those lofty mountains sweeping against the sky," and occasionally she would recall the portion of her childhood spent in nearby New York state, remembering a girlish romp through the old battlefield at Ticonderoga. But the nearness of the gargantuan struggle being waged between Confederate and Union armies less than 120 miles from Atlanta and the pressures of being a Unionist in the rebel city controlled her actions and her mind.

The "disloyal" activities continued throughout the months leading up to the battle of Atlanta in July. Cyrena and the small group of Unionist women still visited the wounded and suffering Union soldiers but had to do so with much more stealth. And as the number of Union prisoners declined, with many transferred to the hellholes of Andersonville and other Confederate prison camps, the women intensified their efforts to care for the few remaining, most of whom were sick or badly wounded and could count on practically no care from Confederate surgeons.

Pressures from the Confederate authorities seemed to ebb and flow during the final months before the battle. One friend told Cyrena that "bitter threats" had been made against her, while another reported that her name remained on a list of twenty to thirty persons in Atlanta who would immediately be arrested if they sought to flee. Still others came to her with the chilling news that she had been branded a spy. One woman, also on the provost marshal's list, urged Cyrena to "burn or bury every scrap of writing, that would excite suspicion." "For you know they say you have been corresponding with the enemy ever since they came to Chatanooga and giving them information—& if we are all arrested, your house will certainly be searched." "It was a new idea," Cyrena confided to her diary, "my keeping them informed! What next?"⁵¹

Throughout this period, symbols of national loyalty became even more important to Cyrena and the other Unionists. All during the war, Cyrena had kept in her possession a small American flag, secreting it in a variety of hiding places, at one time in a jar of preserved fruit, at another in her sugar canister. Atlantans with sympathies for the Union would regularly come to the Stone household and ask to see the flag, which it was illegal to possess in the Confederacy. During these visits, they practiced such patriotic rituals as soft singing of the "Star-Spangled Banner" and "Hail Columbia" and engaged in whispered discussions about the worthlessness of life without a

"true" government. Such contact with other Unionists remained a necessity both as a way to exchange information and to provide psychological support in a situation where ubiquitous danger was mixed with passionate hope for early liberation by the Union armies. Caution had always to be exercised, however, especially when someone arrived whose loyalties were unknown and who asked to see the flag or tried to engage Cyrena in political discussions.⁵²

During the late winter and early spring of 1864, constant rumors swept through Atlanta concerning the position of the federal armies and the likelihood that a battle might be fought near the city. Confederate faith that General Joseph E. Johnston would dispatch the Union forces continued throughout that period, but as the Confederate army constantly fell back toward Atlanta, morale began to drop and former friends who had become enemies now began to seek Cyrena out, believing that if the unthinkable occurred and Atlanta fell, she and the other Unionists would be good friends to have.⁵³

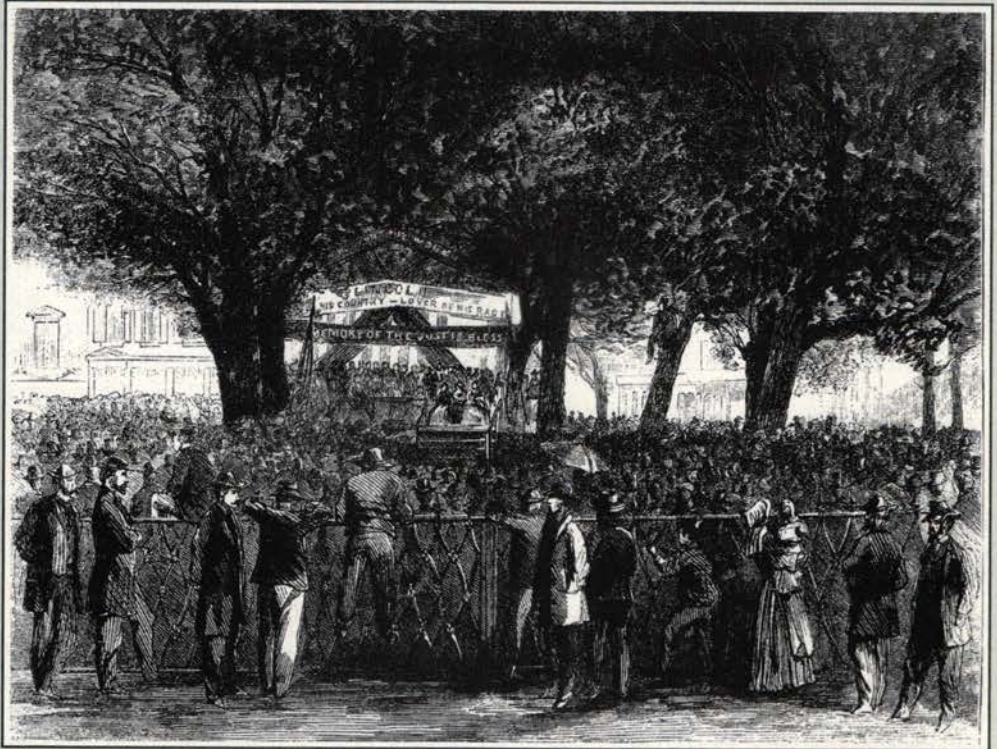
Abraham Lincoln's Memorial Service

At the president's memorial service in Savannah, the just-landed Amherst Stone excoriated the Southern elite, "Sires of ruin who inaugurated rebellion in seeking the destruction of those whose only offense was a love of the Stars and Stripes." *Library of Congress*

Cyrena had kept informed of the steadily advancing Union armies through the newspapers and by word of mouth. In late May, cannon could be heard from her house on the outskirts of Atlanta, signaling the presence of the federal army within twenty miles of the city. Earlier in the year, she had written that she had lived so long with "these great hopes [of liberation]" that "a life without them—of without seeing their inclination—would seem zestless and void." She preferred to remain rather than "to sit in a quiet room, a thousand miles away and read in some morning paper—'On the 1st of _____, long lines of blue swept through the streets of Atlanta. . .'"⁵⁴

By mid-July all Cyrena Stone's neighbors had retreated to the city or had left the area altogether. She remained at home. The sounds of musketry and cannon had been growing louder each day, and on July 21 these sounds erupted into a cacophony of explosions as the Union and Confederate forces struggled for possession of Atlanta. Despite the din and danger, Cyrena still found time late at night to record in her diary aspects of the "red waves of war," which threatened to engulf her. Huge shells, "horrid whizzing screaming thing[s]," now passed over the Stone house and "came flying through the air, and burst with a loud explosion above us." A Confederate colonel who had taken refuge in Cyrena's house counseled her to remain

where she was, declaring that it would be more hazardous inside the city, less than a mile away. Unknown to him, a few yards away, Cyrena had provided a hiding place for two free blacks who had been assaulted by Confederate soldiers. Earlier, she had hidden four runaway slaves in the cotton house on her property. At midnight, she recorded in her diary aspects of the tumult that swirled around her: "Words cannot picture the scenes that surround me—scenes & sounds which my soul will hold in remembrance forever. Terrific cannonading on every side—continual firing of musketry—men screaming to each other—wagons rumbling by on every street or pouring into the yard—for the few remnants of fences offer no obstructions now to cavalryman or wagoner, and from the city comes up wild shouting, as if there is a general melee there."⁵⁵



By the next morning, July 22, it had become obvious that the Stones' home would be destroyed by the fierce battle and that Cyrena would be compelled to retreat. She left reluctantly, however, and only when a friend came from town to take her and the rest of the household to refuge with another Unionist, one mile away, in the city. After the short migration, in the midst of the battle for Atlanta and shortly after her arrival at her friend's home, her diary abruptly ceases in mid-sentence. The novel, *Goldie's Inheritance*, yields up the remainder of Cyrena Stone's life in Civil War Atlanta.

Surviving the battle, Cyrena spent the next six weeks with her Unionist friend, a woman with four children and a husband who, like Amherst, had gone north. Those six weeks coincided with the siege of Atlanta, as Union and Confederate forces fought to a stalemate and bombs and shells fell constantly on the city. The six weeks of shelling decimated much of the city, whose remaining residents tried to survive by living underground in dug-out "bombproofs." Cyrena and her host frequently took refuge in such a small, cramped underground space as the bombs continued throughout the torrid, humid month of August. Food became ever scarcer and the city tee-

tered on the edge of starvation. At least twice, huge shells hit the house where Cyrena was living, one ripping the ceiling apart but failing to explode while the other exploded, wounding two of the residents.⁵⁶

At last on September 1, 1864, the Confederate troops evacuated Atlanta, and the next day the city surrendered to General Sherman's officers. Cyrena's home had likely been destroyed during the battle. All that was left was her flag and her Bible. When the Union troops entered the city, Cyrena unfurled the long hidden banner as a sign of welcome.⁵⁷

Cyrena Stone remained in Atlanta for some weeks after the federal occupation and was among the sizable number of the city's citizens sent north by the federal forces before the burning of the city in early November. Prior to leaving, she had a reunion with a Vermont cousin, a Union officer who sought her out in the wrecked city. He wrote to his mother that Cyrena "was the noblest woman he ever saw" and "had remained true to the flag all this time and amid scoffs and jeers had ministered to the wants of the Union prisoners there most of the time for two years." She had been, he reported, "shunned and excluded from society but had 'endured all for righteousness sake.'" Back in Vermont, other family members, including half-sister Louisa, were overjoyed to hear that Cyrena was alive after their more than three years of separation.⁵⁸

Cyrena and Amherst reunited in Nashville late in 1864, and the two proceeded to Vermont. Cyrena seemed to have stayed in the familiar environs of East Berkshire until the fall of 1865, reveling in the autumnal colors of the trees in the Green Mountains and characteristically celebrating the natural beauty with an essay, soon published in the *Savannah National Republican*.⁵⁹

Meanwhile, the always ambitious Amherst had capitalized upon political contacts made during the Lincoln presidential campaign. Rumors circulated that he had been appointed United States District Attorney for Georgia by President Andrew Johnson after Lincoln's assassination.⁶⁰ While these were untrue, Stone did eventually win appointment as United States Commissioner in Savannah, Georgia, where he moved in the summer of 1865.⁶¹ During the next eight years Stone practiced law, brokered cotton, held a succession of federal and state political appointments in Georgia, and became active and influential in the Republican Party in Reconstruction Georgia. Both "carpetbagger" and "scalawag," he was reviled for the close political alliances he formed with leading black politicians in the state.⁶² By 1873, however, Stone prepared to leave Georgia and accept an appointment from President Ulysses S. Grant as a federal judge in the Territory of Colorado where he joined his two brothers, former Confederate captain Chester A. Stone and former Union lieutenant Charles Birney Stone, who were in business together there. Stone died in Leadville, Colorado, in 1900 after a spotty career in that state, which included some measure of fame (he was kidnapped by outlaws while a federal judge) and notoriety (in his later years, he received unfavorable publicity for amorous adventures with younger women).⁶³

The character of the relationship between Cyrena and Amherst Stone after the war is not clear. While there is no evidence to suggest marital discord, they clearly spent substantial periods apart—Amherst in Georgia, Cyrena in Vermont. Cyrena always returned to Vermont in the summers, but in 1868 she remained into the winter, evidently quite ill and living in

Sheldon, near one of her sisters. Even before the war, her health had been questionable and she had made occasional visits to "medical institutions" in New York and perhaps elsewhere. Now, as the darkness and cold of the Vermont winter set in, she lay dying on a Saturday afternoon, scarcely five miles from her childhood home in East Berkshire. For a week, Cyrena Stone suffered "extreme pain and was partially deranged" before she finally succumbed at 3:00 p.m. on December 18, 1868. She was thirty-eight years old.⁶⁴

The Civil War experiences of Cyrena and Amherst Stone help to illuminate the complex nature of national loyalty during that time and the ways in which a single family could reflect divisions over the national future. Cyrena Stone came as close to unconditional loyalty to the Union as was possible in that portion of the Confederate South remote from significant populations of loyalists. Amherst Stone's Unionism, although seemingly staunch in the pre-war period, obviously could be adjusted to circumstance. The fact that Amherst Stone was almost universally regarded by Atlanta Unionists as a "loyal man" both during and after the conflict shows that the Unionists themselves understood that perhaps no loyalty to the United States could be simon-pure given the circumstances in Civil War Atlanta. That those same Unionists, however, were largely unaware of his activities casts doubt on the fundamental character of his Unionism. The loyalty of one brother to the Confederacy and the loyalty of one to the Union complete the illustration and indicate how complex the experiences of a single family could be in the vortex of the war when it came to choosing sides. ■

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THE AUTHOR THANKS *Vermont History* for permission to republish with slight alterations "Vermont Yankees in King Cotton's Court: The Case of Cyrena and Amherst Stone," which appeared in *Vermont History* in 1992. He also wishes to thank the Johns Hopkins University Press for permission to reprint portions of Thomas G. Dyer, *Secret Yankees: The Union Circle in Confederate Atlanta* (1999).

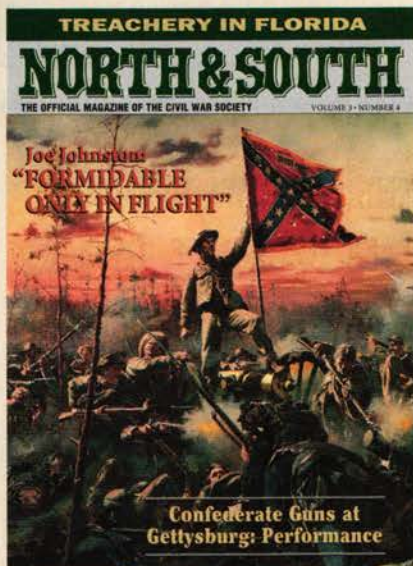
NOTES:

1. Miss Abby's Diary, Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries.
2. Louisa M. Whitney, *Goldie's Inheritance, a Story of the Siege of Atlanta* (Burlington, Vermont: 1903).
3. This article is a part of a larger, book-length study, which places the Stones more fully within the context of wartime Unionism and the Civil War. See Thomas G. Dyer, *Secret Yankees: The Union Circle in Confederate Atlanta* (Johns Hopkins University Press: 1999).
4. Mrs. L. M. Whitney, "M memoir of Rev. Phinehas Bailey," Vermont Historical Society, Montpelier, hereafter cited as Whitney, "A Father's Legacy." The memoir bears the inside title of "A Father's Legacy."
5. Whitney, "A Father's Legacy," 31-42; "Memoirs of Rev. Phinehas Bailey, Written by Himself Transcription from Shorthand Notes now in the possession of his daughter Mrs. Louisa M. (Bailey) Whitney, Royalton, Vermont July 1902," Vermont Historical Society, 43; hereafter cited as Bailey, "Memoirs."
6. Whitney, "A Father's Legacy," 34-35.
7. A collection of Cyrena Stone's published writings is

- found in the Bailey-Hopkins Scrapbook, Francis L. Hopkins Collection, Bailey/Howe Library, University of Vermont.
8. *Goldie's Inheritance*, 5-38; there is a photograph of Louisa M. Whitney as a young woman in the Hopkins Collection.
 9. Census of the United States, 1850, Fayette County, Georgia p.21; Carolyn C. Cary, ed., *The History of Fayette County, 1821-1871* (Fayetteville, Georgia: 1977), pp. 21, 38.
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NORTH & SOUTH

IN OUR NEXT ISSUE



TREACHERY IN FLORIDA Nowhere were loyalties more confused than in Taylor County, Florida, where William W. Strickland, Confederate soldier, Union ranger, met his fate before a firing squad, and where the mysterious Fort Smith was used to incarcerate women and children.
—Pat Imbimbo

INTO THE VALLEY OF DEATH The Corcoran Legion at Cold Harbor—Kevin O'Beirne

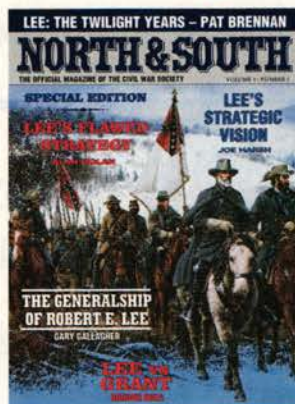
CONFEDERATE ARTILLERY AT GETTYSBURG: PERFORMANCE The concluding article on the artillery support for Pickett's charge, and a look at some of the real reasons the charge failed —Richard Rollins

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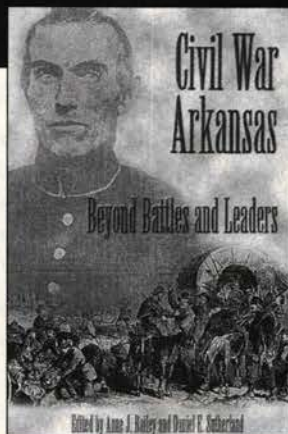


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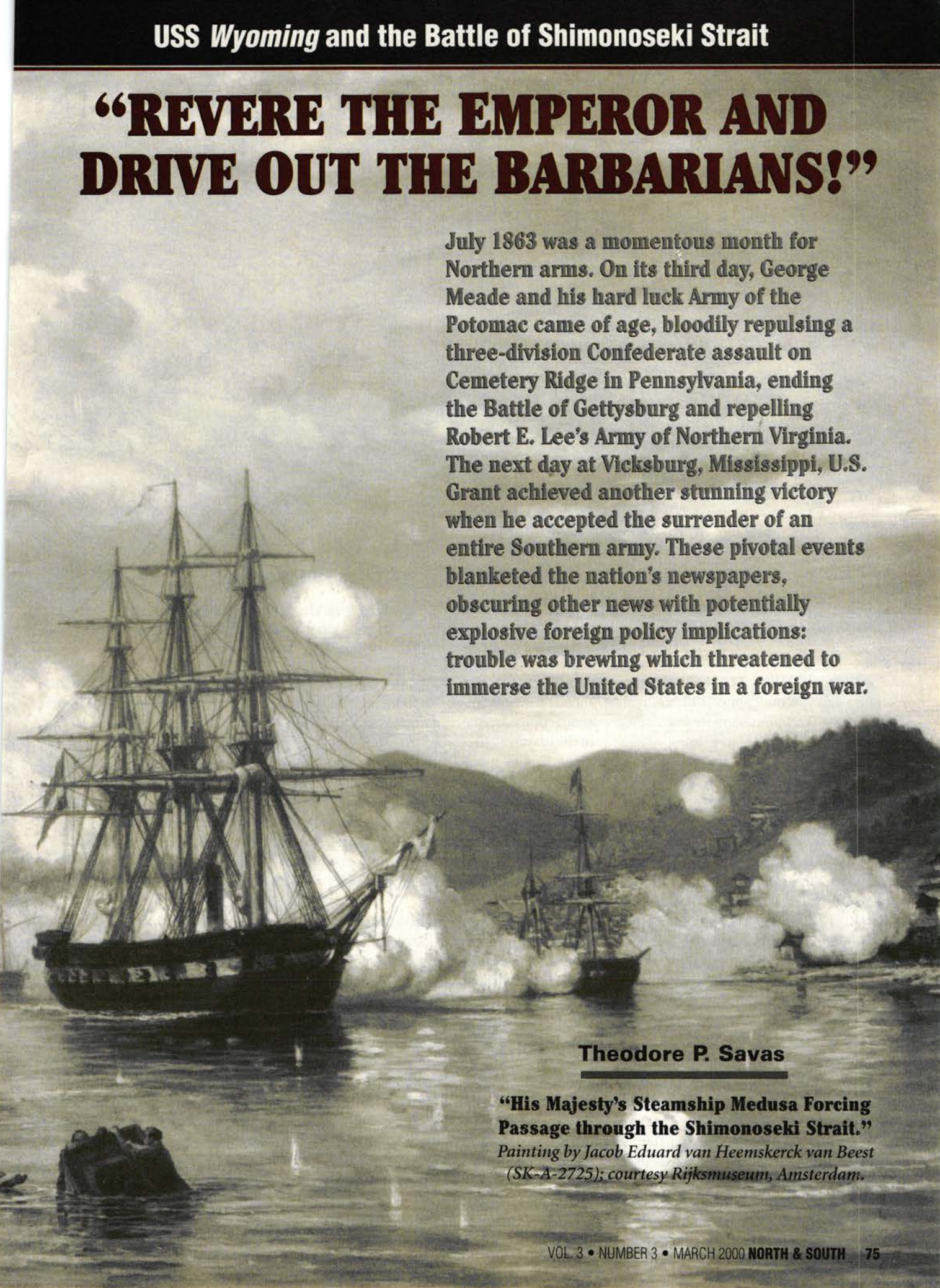
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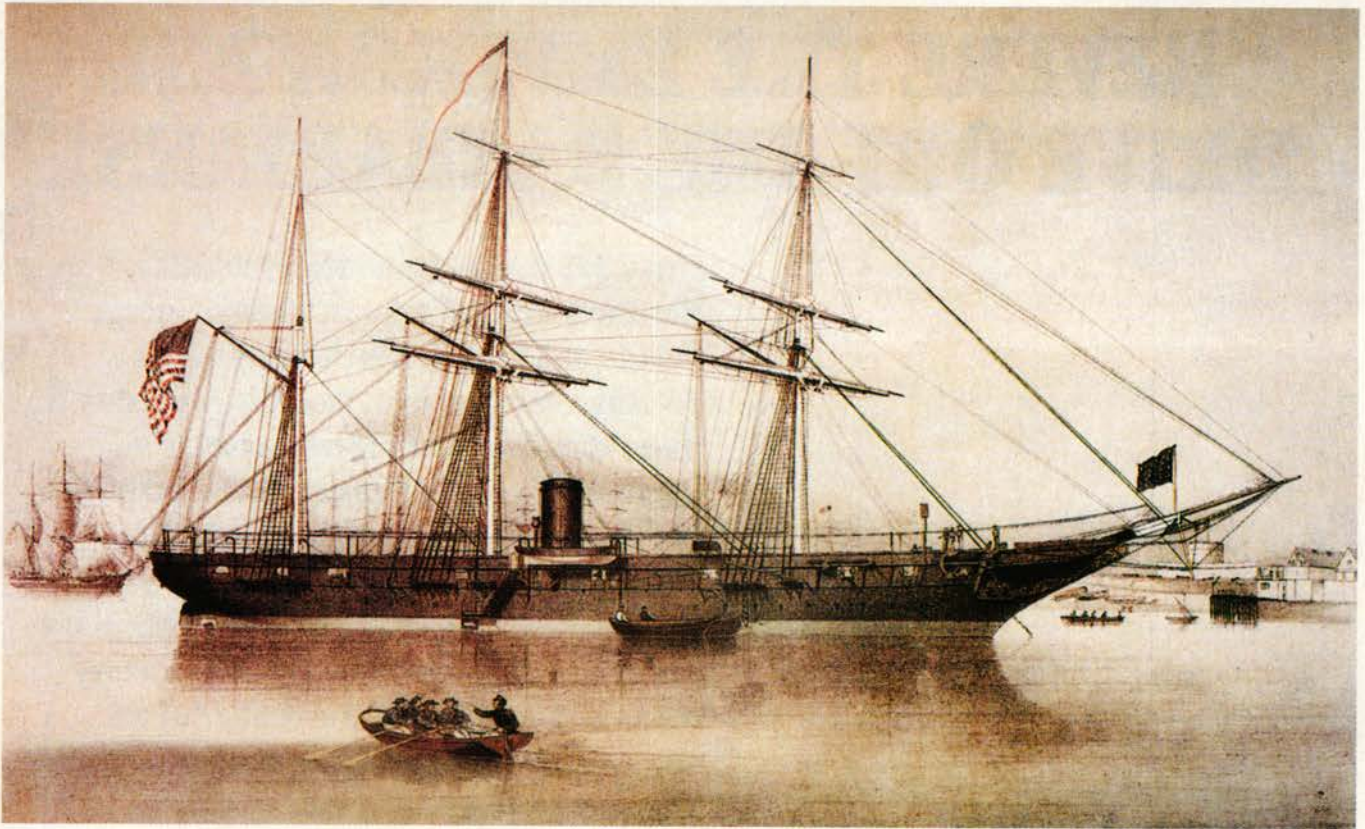
July 1863 was a momentous month for Northern arms. On its third day, George Meade and his hard luck Army of the Potomac came of age, bloodily repulsing a three-division Confederate assault on Cemetery Ridge in Pennsylvania, ending the Battle of Gettysburg and repelling Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia. The next day at Vicksburg, Mississippi, U.S. Grant achieved another stunning victory when he accepted the surrender of an entire Southern army. These pivotal events blanketed the nation's newspapers, obscuring other news with potentially explosive foreign policy implications: trouble was brewing which threatened to immerse the United States in a foreign war.



Theodore P. Savas

**“His Majesty's Steamship *Medusa* Forcing
Passage through the Shimonoseki Strait.”**

*Painting by Jacob Eduard van Heemskerck van Beest
(SK-A-2725); courtesy Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.*



Sent to Japanese waters in the summer of 1863 to search for the Confederate commerce raider *Alabama*, the USS *Wyoming* (above) instead found herself fighting a desperate action against a rebel Japanese warlord and his private navy. *Library of Congress*

ON JUNE 21, 1863, Captain Simon Cooper and his small U.S. merchant steamer *Pembroke* prepared for a voyage from Yokohama, Japan to Nagasaki, and thence to Shanghai, China. The lengthy trip required Cooper to navigate his vessel through Shimonoseki Strait, a narrow and treacherous channel separating the Japanese islands of Honshu and Kyushu. About 2:00 p.m. on June 25, *Pembroke* steamed past a European-built bark. The ship was "well armed and full of men," Cooper later reported, "but with no ensign set." Two hours later, the captain anchored his ship for the night outside the eastern mouth of the strait, which was safer to negotiate on a morning tide.

In his report a week later on the affair that was just beginning to unfold, Captain Cooper remembered seeing the bark again just after he had set anchor. This time, however, it was sporting "a Japanese flag. . . the same as those used on all Government war (vessels)." The square banner had "a white ground with a red ball in the center." The bark an-

chored just west of Cooper's position "about a quarter of a mile away." A lone artillery piece spoke from the eastern tip of the island of Honshu, about four miles away. The discharge, wrote Cooper, was emulated "all along the coast" in an echoing choir of deep-throated eruptions. As the hours passed and daylight gave way to a dark night splintered by occasional bolts of lightning, the Japanese bark slowly turned and offered *Pembroke* her broadside.

If Cooper had any inkling that something was amiss, a sudden explosion of cannon fire at 1:00 a.m. confirmed his suspicions. Without warning, the Japanese ship had opened fire on the unsuspecting American sailors. Stunned by the unprovoked attack, Cooper ordered *Pembroke* underway. With his guns lashed, Cooper knew he did not have time to waste attempting a defense. "All our efforts," he recounted, "[were] directed to getting underway." As the crew hurried to build up steam in the ship's boilers, shot after shot whizzed at them out of the inky darkness. One ball cut away the topmast backstay, and "all passed close to

us." After the Japanese warship had discharged about a dozen rounds another ship, this one a Japanese brig, slipped out of the darkness just forty yards from the American steamer and floated silently past *Pembroke* like a specter out of the night. "If her guns had been discharged at that moment," recalled Captain Cooper, "we should have been destroyed." Instead of iron, however, the second vessel released the loud and unnerving battle-cry, "Revere the Emperor and drive out the barbarians!" The brig inexplicably forfeited her advantage by dropping anchor near the bark. "Both vessels then fired as rapidly as they could load and discharge," Cooper reported, "but we had got up steam and run out of fire, escaping through the Bungo Channel, a narrow and unfrequented strait." Fortunately, the Japanese gunners proved poor marksmen. Cooper and his men slipped away with nothing more than damaged rigging and pounding hearts. After he reached Shanghai, Cooper filed a report of the attack and dispatched it to the United States Consulate in Yokohama, Japan.¹



Captain de Cazembroot and his staff display a captured Choshu fieldpiece aboard the *Medusa* after the international fleet had opened the strait. *Vereenigend Nederlandsch Historisch Scheepvaartmuseum, Amsterdam*

The shocking news of the *Pembroke* incident traveled slowly and did not reach Yokohama until July 10, where a shogunate foreign affairs officer informed U.S. minister Robert H. Pruyn of the attack. Cooper's report arrived that same evening by mail, confirming the news. The incensed diplomat soon learned that the offending vessels—even though they were flying the national flag of Japan at the time of the attack—belonged to the Prince of Nagato, a rebellious Japanese warlord named Mori Takachika. The attack against the American flag thrust Pruyn squarely onto the horns of a serious foreign policy crisis that he alone had to solve. Delay or a languid response would simply encourage Takachika and perhaps other belligerent foreigners around the world to act in a similar manner. But was the warlord's bloodless attack on *Pembroke* worth a possible war with Japan? The United States was already embroiled in a bloody civil war, and the world was carefully watching President Lincoln's government for signs of weakness and vacillation.

Fortunately for Pruyn, the frigate *USS Wyoming* was riding anchor in Yokohama. The minister summoned her captain, David Stockton McDougal, for a conference. When presented with Cooper's report, McDougal concurred

that the attack deserved a sharp response. Although his ship was scheduled to return to Philadelphia for overdue repairs, he agreed to sail at once for Shimonoseki Strait to deal with the impertinent Japanese warlord. On July 13, McDougal steamed for what he termed "the scene of the outrage."²

Unbeknownst to either Pruyn or McDougal, two other ships had also been fired upon by Lord Mori's forces. On July 7, the French naval dispatch steamer *Kienchang* was riding peacefully at anchor when Japanese guns opened fire on her. When *Kienchang's* captain ordered a boat launched to investigate the meaning of the outrage, an iron ball smashed through it. Hulled seven times, the French vessel was lucky to get away with but one wounded sailor. Two days later *Kienchang* rendezvoused with the 16-gun Dutch warship *Medusa*. The strength of his ship and longstanding relationship between The Netherlands and Japan convinced Captain de Cazembroot that Lord Mori would not dare fire on his vessel. But on July 11 the insolent prince did exactly that, pounding *Medusa* with more than 30 shells and killing or wounding nine sailors. Unable to stay and fight it out for fear of endangering the life of the Dutch Consul General, who was on board *Medusa* at the

time, a chagrined de Cazembroot returned fire and continued steaming through Shimonoseki Strait. Within a short time, the Japanese warlord had managed to fire on most of the foreign flags of those nations with consulates in Japan.³

But McDougal knew nothing of these additional outrages. By 10:00 p.m. on July 15 *Wyoming* was anchored outside the strait south of the island of Hime Sima. Riding on a peaceful charcoal sea, McDougal determined to await the coming of dawn and a favorable tide before facing his enemy.

McDougal's *USS Wyoming* (named after a valley in Pennsylvania) had been plying the seas for less than four years when her course was set for Shimonoseki. Her hull was laid in July of 1858 in the Philadelphia Navy Yard, where she was completed in October of 1859 at a cost of \$323,537.00. The 997-ton steam sloop, also equipped with sails, was just under 200 feet long and 33 feet wide with a draft of 13' 3". She averaged seven knots, although her two horizontal back-action engines could coax more than eleven from her if necessary. Her armament consisted of two 11-inch Dahlgren smooth bores (one fore and one aft) and four 32-pounders. Not particularly powerful or swift, *Wyoming* would require every ounce of her strength and speed for the dangerous task before her.

David Stockton McDougal was considerably older and more experienced than his sloop of war. The 54-year-old naval officer had enlisted as a midshipman in 1828, opening what would be a long career in the West Indies. Although his service consisted of interminable stretches of peacetime boredom, he witnessed the fall of Veracruz during the Mexican War through the eyes of an aging lieutenant aboard Commodore Perry's flagship *USS Mississippi*. After a few years in command of the sloop *Warren* in the Pacific, McDougal was transferred to Mare Island Navy Yard in Northern California, where he served under David Glasgow Farragut. *Wyoming* was tendered to McDougal at the outbreak of the Civil War as a reward for his long, if rather uneventful, service. There had been few opportunities for the career officer to distinguish himself, but

in July of 1863, fate finally dealt David McDougal a hand he could play.⁴

At 4:45 a.m. on July 16, McDougal "called all hands," weighed anchor with an agreeable eastward tide fifteen minutes later, and steamed toward his rendezvous with the Japanese. General quarters sounded at 9:00 a.m. and McDougal cleared his ship for action, ordering his 11" Dahlgren pivot guns loaded with shell and his 32-pounders with solid shot. As the narrow headlands of the strait loomed into view, McDougal proceeded with sails furled, depending on his engines rather than the capricious fate of the wind. With only sketchy information as to the dangers awaiting them, *Wyoming* and her crew entered the wide mouth of the outer strait at 10:45 a.m. Three shore-based signal guns off the ship's starboard quarter ripped away the stillness of the morning. The alerted Japanese artillerymen did not waste any time. "Immediately two shots were fired at us from the first battery," reported McDougal, "one of the shots cutting away the starboard main swifters, upon which we hoisted colors and opened fire in return."⁵

The coastal waters off Shimonoseki were no stranger to bloodshed. In 1185 A.D., the watershed naval battle of Dannoura [Danno Ura] was fought in the strait, where a fleet belonging to Minamoto Yoshitsune wiped out the navy of Taira Kiyomori. The strait took its name from the small port town nestled at the western tip of the island of Honshu. This strategic 1,100-yard wide waterway separated the islands of Honshu and Kyushu, providing a passage connecting the Sea of Japan with the Inland Sea. When properly fortified, the bluffs and hills surrounding Shimonoseki controlled the narrow and vital channel between the two land masses, a route frequented by merchant vessels of many nations. In 1863, Shimonoseki was the main seat of the Choshu clan, which was bitterly opposed to the Shogunate's open-door policy to the West. Mori Takachika, the Prince of Nagato (also known as Choshu), began his own private war to expel foreigners, issuing orders for his forces to fire on foreign ships traversing the waterway. The consequences of this decision to obstruct the passage with military force would prove costly to the Japanese in both blood and money.



Lord Mori Takachika (*Shimonoseki Museum*), and Captain David S. McDougal (*Library of Congress*)

THE JAPANESE SOLDIERS manning the first gun emplacement watched as *Wyoming's* initial salvo of shot and shell flashed from the starboard battery and 11" Dahlgren pivots, tracing several brilliant arcs through the morning sky in their direction. Several seconds of silence were followed by the deep and heavy boom of the large "soda pop" Dahlgren's, intermingled with the lighter staccato of the 32-pounders. *Wyoming* stayed her course under fire through the narrow neck of the strait, keeping to the center of the channel in order to stand clear of the blazing battery to starboard and a dangerous piece of headland looming near on her port side. The five remaining Japanese land batteries, each mounting from two to four guns, belched forth a relentless fire which tore away sections of the lone warship's rigging. As the town of Shimonoseki came into view beyond the starboard bow, *Wyoming's* crewmen obtained their first glimpse of the waiting Japanese ships. The enemy squadron consisted entirely of western-built vessels: the large two-gun steamer *Sancifield*; the six-gun bark *Daniel Webster*; and the eight-gun brig *Lanrick*. According to after-action reports, all of these converted vessels were armed with 24- and 32-pound brass smoothbore guns. In addition to flying the flag of Japan, the warships sported Lord Mori's colors, a rectangular blue flag emblazoned with three white circles and a white bar across the top.⁶

Although everyone aboard *Wyoming* knew help would not be forthcoming that morning, only one man other than McDougal fully appreciated the true consequences of the warship's thrust into Shimonoseki Strait: if *Wyoming* become disabled or ran hard aground, the officer in charge of the powder division was under orders from McDougal to fire the magazines and destroy both sloop and crew.⁷

If McDougal had any second thoughts about continuing on his voyage of vengeance, the deployment of the enemy vessels may have firmed up his resolve to press on. The two most powerful Japanese ships, *Daniel Webster* and *Lanrick*, were anchored in line just off shore with their starboard batteries situated to command the strait. The steamer *Sancifield*, however, was anchored farther off shore and opposite *Lanrick*. In addition to the junks milling about in confusion behind *Sancifield*, something else caught the American's eye: wooden stakes marking the range for the shore batteries had been driven into the bottom of the main channel of the strait. Although heavily outgunned, McDougal recognized that the gap between the weaker two-gun steamer and the two more powerful warships offered him an opportunity to engage the enemy at close range while avoiding the danger of steaming in the main channel. Acting with celerity and risking everything in the process, McDougal ordered *Wyoming's* bow toward the breach between

If Wyoming became disabled or ran hard aground, the officer in charge of the powder division was under orders to fire the magazines and destroy both sloop and crew.



SHIMONOSEKI
The U.S.S. Wyoming
July 16th, 1863

the enemy vessels, determined to run his ship between *Sancifield* and *Lanrick*. The audacious measure stunned the Japanese and effectively froze their warships at anchor.⁸

As *Wyoming* bore down on her enemy, she was pounded by a relentless fire from the land batteries. According to McDougal's post-battle account, the American seamen returned fire "as fast as the guns could be brought to bear." As *Wyoming* drew abreast of *Daniel Webster*, the bark administered a damaging broadside of solid shot into the American ship, which shuddered violently under the blows of iron. Trading shot for shot at pistol range, the United States warship slipped past the bark and engaged *Lanrick* with her complete starboard battery, while solid shot from the two port side 32-pounders pounded *Sancifield*.

Thick, choking powder smoke and deadly wooden splinters filled the air, as iron shot and shell smashed into the wooden vessels and tore apart their occupants. The forward Dahlgren pivot gun was an especially dangerous place to be that morning. Michael Lynch, listed as a coal heaver aboard *Wyoming*, bled to death when both of his legs were carried away by a round shot. Within a few minutes three other men on the same gun crew were knocked out of action. The first was William Thompson, whose left

arm was shattered when a shell exploded near him. James Carswell, whose fatal injuries may have been the result of the same explosion, had his left hand "shot away," his left leg lacerated, and his "body badly bruised by shell." Charles Murphy was more fortunate than his two companions and only suffered bruised toes when a piece of flying metal struck him on the foot.

As the fighting intensified, the crackle of small arms fire intermingled with the discharging cannons, as many of *Wyoming's* crew trained their rifles and pistols upon the milling Japanese sailors, who were likewise suffering under the weight of American metal. Like *Wyoming's* forward pivot gun, her fore-castle was also pulverized during the battle. There, Landsman George Watson was "struck by [a] shell in his chest and bowels" and killed instantly. William Clark, also stationed on the fore-castle, was killed in a similar manner when a solid shot hit him. Corporal Alex Furlong's luck also ran out. The young marine was stationed on a gangway when a Japanese round sent a piece of iron plating hissing and spinning through the air until it tore into Furlong's chest and disemboweled him. Andrew Wallace, the captain of the after guard, fell severely wounded with a shattered left forearm and broken left leg.⁹

As casualties mounted and with her smokestack hulled in three places, *Wyoming* rounded the stern of the damaged steamer while McDougal flirted with the idea of heading for the southern shore to take up a position at anchor. He quickly dismissed the notion as foolish and ordered *Wyoming's* bow turned back east to reengage the damaged Japanese squadron. As *Sancifield* slipped her cable and moved by the stern, McDougal bore down for the kill. Vicious cross-currents, however, made a maneuver as simple as bringing his ship about difficult. Compounding the problem was the muddy bottom of the unpredictable strait, against which *Wyoming's* keel briefly ground. With his Japanese pilots "completely paralyzed and apprehensive of running ashore," McDougal struggled to turn his vessel in order to bring his port battery to bear against the wounded *Sancifield*. Slowing and stopping his engines as needed, McDougal adjusted his course and sent two shells from the huge pivot guns, together with a number of solid shots from the 32-pounders, smashing into the steamer with devastating effect. The combined fire ripped into *Sancifield's* machinery and exploded her boilers, enveloping the doomed ship in a fatal cloud of hot steam and smoke. According to later reports, the barrage and subsequent explosions killed forty Japanese sailors. Completely disabled, the smoking and crippled steamer drifted aimlessly before grounding amidst the junks.¹⁰

As *Wyoming* steamed back up the strait, McDougal noticed with delight that *Lanrick* was taking on water and "appeared to be settling by the stern, and no doubt sunk." The damage to the six-gun *Daniel Webster* "must also have been serious," concluded McDougal, whose guns had also wreaked "great destruction on shore." With his port battery reloaded, McDougal fired a final and probably mortal broadside into the sinking brig. Slipping past her, he split the weight of his metal between the still-defiant bark and the irksome shore batteries, into which he landed a number of shells from his massive Dahlgrens.

Wyoming had given an excellent account of herself in the narrow and treacherous waterway, but McDougal had pushed his luck to the breaking

point—and perhaps beyond. The American sloop had been hulled eleven times and had sustained serious damage to her rigging. The keel of McDougal's vessel had also skimmed the bottom briefly, an event which would have been the kiss of death for everyone aboard had she grounded for any length of time. Prudently heeding the warnings of his pilots, who did not possess charts of the waterway, McDougal reluctantly was "induced to withdraw out of action."

At 12:10 p.m., the victorious warship steamed out of Shimonoseki Strait, ending the first and last battle of McDougal's long career. His lopsided triumph over the Japanese had taken just eighty-five minutes, but his casualties were high. Edwin R. Denby, *Wyoming's* surgeon, listed four members of the ship's crew as having been killed outright, while seven more were wounded, one mortally and two severely. "After the action the deck looked like a slaughterhouse," wrote one of the ship's officers, "and our quarters, where the wounded were carried, was a terrible sight—legs and arms lying around."¹¹

Despite his victory McDougal's judgment must be seriously questioned. He knew any battle fought in the strait would be waged alone by *Wyoming*. Disregarding the danger his solitary exposure generated, McDougal proceeded to enter a fortified, treacherous, and unfamiliar strait without reliable knowledge of either his enemy's strength or disposition—and without maps of the waterway. Although McDougal's plan to avenge the firing on *Pembroke* was sanctioned by Robert Pruyn, United States Foreign Minister to Japan, Pruyn surely did not contemplate pitting McDougal against a Japanese adversary that outgunned him at least 5 to 1 while defending their own prepared territory. Had McDougal's ship been disabled or otherwise severely damaged, his nearest port of repair was Shanghai, China, over 500 miles away. Although courageous and expertly executed, McDougal's actions were also impulsive and reckless (especially considering the suicide order given to the powder officer). The prepared Japanese positions and well-armed squadron was powerful enough to deal with *Wyoming*. Had the enemy been better gunners and sailors, *Wyoming* and her crew would

never have left Shimonoseki Strait. And what, exactly had McDougal accomplished? While the Shimonoseki affair lessened somewhat the Prince of Nagato's influence in the province of Kyoto and worked to undermine his power struggle with the ruling government in Tokyo, it did not bring down Mori Takachika—or convince him to change his defiant ways.

Wyoming was the first foreign warship to offensively uphold treaty rights with Japan. That fact, coupled with the possibility that these events threatened to mire the United States in a foreign war while engaged in a bloody Civil War, makes the battle in Shimonoseki a significant engagement. Another interesting aspect of the affair was the resourcefulness of McDougal's enemy, something another generation of Americans 80 years later would also come to appreciate. The Japanese did not set eyes on a steam-powered ship until Admiral Perry sailed into Yeddo Bay a decade before McDougal's battle. Yet, they learned the ways of the West rapidly within that brief time span, purchasing foreign vessels and foreign guns with which to arm them. The quality and quantity of these armaments in the 1860s shocked the rest of the world.

The postscript to McDougal's action in the strait is as interesting and obscure as the battle itself.

THE INSURGENT JAPANESE prince's decision to train his guns on French, Dutch, English and American ships brought swift retaliation. Just days after *Wyoming's* engagement, the French landed a force and destroyed a small town together with at least one artillery emplacement. The following month an English squadron mimicked the French attack. The August expedition left behind the burning town of Gogo-Sima and three sunken steamers in its wake, together with sixty-three English casualties. Diplomacy followed in the footsteps of the multi-national chastisement, as the French, English, Dutch and Americans negotiated to reopen the passage to the Inland Sea. Months dragged by with no end in sight to the

perplexing and delicate dilemma. By May of 1864, various bellicose Japanese factions had destroyed thousands of dollars of foreign property, including homes, churches, and shipping. The wanton destruction also included the American legation in Yeddo [Tokyo], which housed the United States Minister to Japan.¹²

Threats and rumors of war hung heavily in the air as the Strait of Shimonoseki remained closed to foreign flags. While the diplomatic maneuvering sputtered on without success, the treaty powers discussed the feasibility of a joint military strike against the Prince of Nagato. In preparation for the combined movement, the English augmented their naval presence in the port of Yokohama to fifteen ships of war, while bolstering their infantry force by an additional regiment from Hong Kong. The Dutch also flaunted a significant naval force before the watchful eyes of the Japanese with four powerful ships of war floating at anchor alongside those of their English allies. The French, however, were wary of engaging in war with the Japanese, especially since their naval presence was minimal and French soldiers formerly on Japanese soil had been sent to Mexico to bolster Maximilian's unstable regime. In early July 1864, forces loyal to the Prince of Nagato fired upon the American steamer *Monitor* after she entered a harbor for coal and water. In a dispatch from Yokohama to United States Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles, Captain Cicero Price of the *USS Jamestown* described the Prince of Nagato as "the most rebellious of all the daimios." In the meantime, English ships returned to Yokohama after delivering a multi-national ultimatum threatening military action if the strait was not opened. As a delaying tactic, the insurgent prince requested additional time to respond, a course of action deemed unacceptable to the treaty powers. The time for unified action had arrived.¹³

On August 28 and 29, 1864, a squadron comprised of nine English, three French and four Dutch ships of war, together with 1,200 soldiers, steamed out of Yokohama to open the strait. In a token show of support, the flag of the United States accompanied the operation on a chartered steamer. The two-day battle that followed on September 5 and

6 did what McDougal's July 1863 pinprick could not: it devastated the Prince of Nagato's ability to wage war. Unable to match the firepower of the international fleet, the Choshu's forces surrendered two days later on September 8, 1864. The stringent accord drawn up in the wake of the cease-fire included an indemnity payment of \$3,000,000 from the Japanese.¹⁴

But what of David McDougal? After the battle, McDougal learned that earlier orders to proceed home had been canceled and he continued to hunt for the Confederate raider *Alabama*. Although the two ships were destined to never meet, they unknowingly passed within a few miles of one another on November 10, 1863. New orders summoned *Wyoming* home in April of 1864. McDougal left his ship and became Commandant of Mare Island Navy Yard in San Francisco Bay from October 17, 1864 until September 5, 1866, and was commissioned Commodore in 1869 and Rear Admiral in 1873.

In 1883, twenty summers after *Wyoming's* battle in the strait and one year after McDougal's death at the age of 73, the United States quietly returned \$750,000 to Japan, which represented its share of the reparations payment extracted under the rain of multi-national shells. □

THEODORE P. SAVAS is a former California attorney, owner of Savas Publishing, founder of the quarterly publication *Civil War Regiments*, and the author of numerous articles on the Civil War. He now resides in Iowa. His website at www.savaspublishing.com contains excerpts, author interviews, and more.

NOTES

1. *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, 30 vols. (Washington, D. C., 1900), series I, vol. 2, 393, 395, hereinafter cited as ORN. All references are to series I; "The *Wyoming* at Shimonoseki: The Story of a Very Gallant Naval Action," by Willard Curtis Tyler, *United States Naval Institute Proceedings* (October 1932), p. 1465, hereinafter cited as Tyler, "Wyoming."
2. *Ibid.*; ORN 2, 393. Both McDougal and Pruyn were aware of the precarious state of affairs in Japan. A month earlier on June 12, McDougal had written Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles to inform him of the rising tensions inside Japan against outsiders. "The general opinion is that the Government is on the eve of revolution,

the principal object of which is the expulsion of foreigners," explained McDougal. *Ibid.*, 268. Ten days later on June 22, Welles was informed by McDougal that England and Japan were on a collision course for war over indemnity payments. *Ibid.*, 364-65.

3. ORN 2, p. 394; "Shogunate Defied," by Thos. Davis, *Military History* (October 1991), pp. 54-55, hereinafter cited as Davis, "Shogunate Defied."
4. Paul H. Silverstone, *Warships of the Civil War Navies* (Naval Institute Press, 1989), Wyoming Class entry; Stewart Sifakis, *Who Was Who in the Civil War* (Facts on File, 1988), pp. 413-14.
5. ORN 2, p. 397.
6. *Ibid.*
7. "Shogunate Defied," 56.
8. ORN 2, pp. 393, 397.
9. *Ibid.*, 395, 398.
10. *Ibid.*, 393, 397.
11. *Ibid.*, 393-95, 397, 398.
12. *Ibid.*, 396, 436-38; ORN 3, pp. 95, 192-93.
13. ORN 3, pp. 134-35.
14. *Ibid.*, 192, 193, 201-04. John E. Findling, *Dictionary of American Biography* (Greenwood, 1980), pp. 395-96, credits Minister Pruyn with negotiating the indemnity.
15. "Shogunate Defied," 57; Sifakis, *Who Was Who in the Civil War*, 414.



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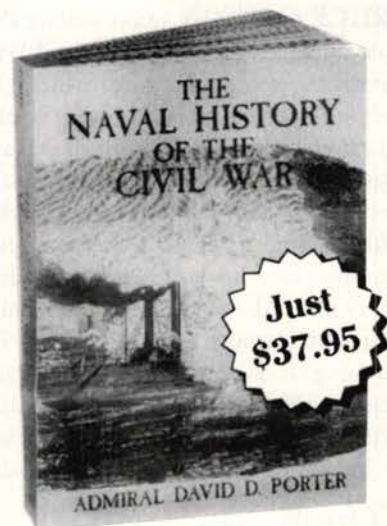
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BRUCE CATTON ranks among the most popular and durable of Civil War historians. Successful during his lifetime, he won a Pulitzer Prize and saw his books sell extremely well. Most of his Civil War-related volumes remain in print, testimony to his continuing presence in the field. Although usually considered a military historian who wrote with a mass audience in mind, Catton drew on substantial research (much of it carried out by E.B. Long) and wrote about far more than incidents on the battlefield. He typically focused on military topics and personalities but always with a keen eye toward the

many ways in which politics, diplomacy, and the home fronts intersected with campaigns and battles.

The "Army of the Potomac Trilogy"—Mr. Lincoln's Army (1951), Glory Road (1952), and A Stillness at Appomattox (1953)—show Catton at his best. These titles combine brilliant narrative prose with perceptive analysis of personalities and events. They explore the charged political atmosphere within which George B. McClellan and other commanders operated, devote considerable attention to the attitudes and motivations of men in the ranks, and come as close as anything in the literature to evoking the spirit of the North's most famous army.

All three books include numerous memorable passages. One of the best describes the Iron Brigade as it approached the battlefield at Gettysburg on July 1, 1863. "There were eighteen hundred

fighting men in this brigade, and the men were cocky," wrote Catton. "Officially they were the 1st Brigade of the 1st Division of the I Army Corps, and they figured that if the army were ever drawn up in one long line for inspection they would stand at the extreme right of it, which somehow was cause for pride. On the ridge to the west there was a crackle of small-arms fire and a steady crashing of cannon, with a long soiled cloud of smoke drifting up in the still morning air, and at the head of the column the drums and the fifes were loud—playing 'The Girl I Left Behind Me,' probably, that perennial theme song of the Army of the Potomac, playing the Iron Brigade into its last great fight."

Catton almost certainly has converted more casual readers into serious students of the Civil War than any other author. Anyone who dips into the "Army of the Potomac Trilogy" will understand why.

The News Runner

AS MEMBERS OF THE CIVIL WAR SOCIETY and all regular readers of *North & South* know, the publishers of *North & South* recently took over the running of the Society. The Society has been well known for years for its tours and seminars and for its magazine *Civil War*—now merged into *North & South*. As one member of the Society put it, however, in a recent telephone call, now is a good time to focus and define more clearly the goals of the Society. Below I have spelled out what I see as those goals. However, all members of the Society should have a chance of contributing their ideas, and I would be glad to receive your thoughts in writing (by mail or email) or by 'phone. Additionally there will be an opportunity to exchange ideas at our conferences, and in particular at the annual general meeting—details of which will be announced shortly.

I see the goals of the Society as two-fold: social and educational. The social aspect speaks for itself—our conferences, tours, and seminars should be opportunities to meet others with similar interests, in a convivial and stimulating atmo-

sphere. I look forward to meeting many members at these get-togethers, and to making many new friends.

Our educational goal is to present the events of the Civil War era as objectively and accurately as we can, and to advance understanding of the war also by presenting reasoned arguments from a variety of perspectives, where events, causation, motivation, character, and performance are a matter of interpretation. In its first two years of publication, *North & South* I believe has done just that, and is now at the cutting edge of Civil War scholarship. The conferences we plan will be similar, in that they will not merely be reiterations of what is already well known, but genuinely ground-breaking events which present the very latest in Civil War research and interpretation in combination with expertly guided battlefield tours.

Other things on our educational agenda are the development of a major Civil War website and the provision of educational materials for schools and colleges. In all this, and in the possible development of a Civil War series for radio, we intend to work collaboratively with others in the field, rather than in competition. We will also be reactivating the national high schools Civil War essay com-

petition which the Society ran for a number of years.

A vital part of Civil War education is the ability of future generations to see for themselves battlefields and other locales which figured in the war. To this end we look forward to working with the new Civil War Preservation Trust created from the merger of the APCWS and the Civil War Trust. In our next issue we plan to highlight the major preservation initiative now underway in the Shenandoah Valley.

In terms of services to members we are negotiating discounts with many, perhaps all, of our advertisers. More details next issue; meanwhile members calling advertisers should ask if there is a discount for Civil War Society members.

—Keith Poulter

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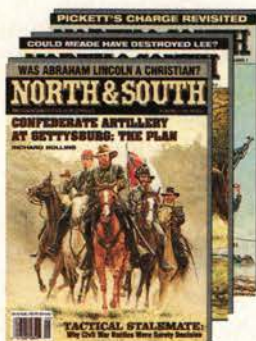
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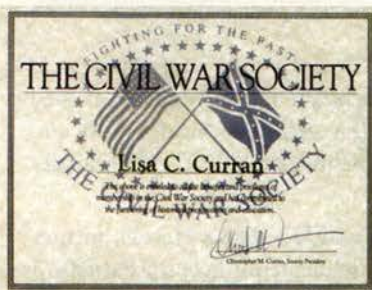
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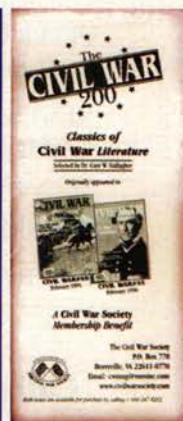
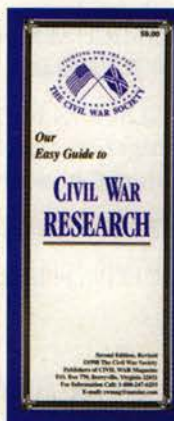
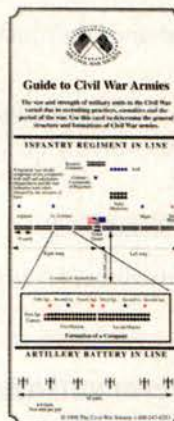
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TAKEN AT THE FLOOD
Robert E. Lee and Confederate
Strategy in the Maryland
Campaign of 1862

By Joseph L. Harsh. (Kent, Ohio: The Kent State University Press, 1999. 649 pp., illus., maps, index, bibliography. \$45.00
 ISBN: 0-87338-631-0.)

This book is the sequel to Harsh's provocative work *Confederate Tide Rising*, published last year. The results here are equally provocative, and worthy of careful scrutiny. Harsh begins with an examination of Lee's thought process in his deciding to undertake the Maryland campaign in the aftermath of his victory in August 1862 at Second Bull Run. Harsh suggests that Lee undertook the campaign as part of a concerted strategic offensive by the major Confederate armies, an overall strategy which Lee played a critical role in formulating. Lee's thinking here was also influenced by more well known factors, such as the attempt to gain foreign recognition, his estimate of the state of the Union forces, especially those cowering in the defenses of Washington, D.C. after the Second Bull Run disaster, and the window of opportunity offered by the absence of the Army of the Potomac, still in transit from the Peninsula back to the environs of Washington.

Harsh then goes into tremendous detail as to why the wheels eventually came off the campaign in the nearly two weeks before Antietam. Here he examines how the Union decision to maintain garrisons at Martinsburg and especially Harper's Ferry, plus the delays involved in Jackson's expedition to capture Harper's Ferry, completely threw Lee's timetable off. Finally, Harsh gives a great deal of credit to George B. McClellan's generalship. Here, Harsh provocatively challenges the importance of the so-called "lost order," which gave McClellan the dispositions of the Army of Northern Virginia. Harsh suggests that many of the measures McClellan undertook against Lee had already been put into motion well before Special Order No. 191 was brought to his headquarters. All the orders did was to confirm to McClellan that he was doing the right thing.

Somewhat less compelling is Harsh's discussion of Lee's decision to fight in the hills near Sharpsburg. Although Harsh is as understanding as possible of Lee's thinking for continuing the campaign, one cannot avoid the conclusion that Lee made a serious mistake.

BRIEFINGS

Reviews

Likewise, his discussion of the Confederate high command and their post-mortems on the campaign are also somewhat conventional.

The writing throughout the book is concise and the book makes for an easy read. Harsh's research is excellent and he goes into several memoranda between Lee and Davis in considerable detail. The maps are quite good in following the overall campaign, but are less useful in following the battle of Antietam.

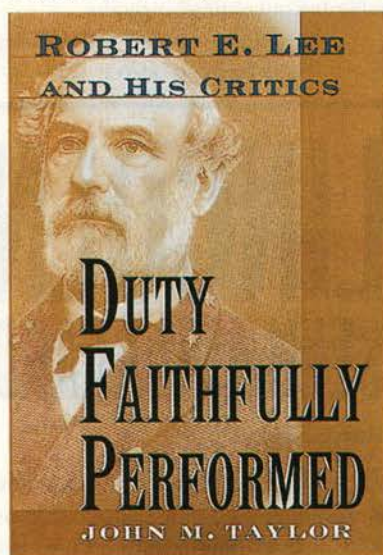
Taken all together, this book is a terrific edition to the literature on the 1862 campaign in the Civil War. Although some of his final conclusions are somewhat on the mundane side, the process by which he arrives at them is decidedly not. This book is a must for anyone interested in the eastern campaigns of the Civil War.

—R.L. DiNardo

USMC Command and Staff College
 Quantico, Virginia

DUTY FAITHFULLY PERFORMED
Robert E. Lee and His Critics

By John M. Taylor (Dulles, Va.: Brassey's, 1999) pp. 268. \$27.95, ISBN 1-57488-158-2)



In *Duty Faithfully Performed: Robert E. Lee and His Critics*, John M. Taylor insists that historians have not discovered the real Robert E. Lee. The general, the author writes, was an intensely private person, "reticent in conversation and cautious in correspondence" (p. 9). Unfortunately, Taylor does not offer a meaningful response to the very problem that he finds in Lee historiography. A lack of original research largely explains why he does not offer any new insights into either Lee's personal life or his military career. Taylor's arguments draw heavily from the influential interpretations of Douglas Southall Freeman in an attempt to refute Lee critics such as Alan Nolan and Thomas Connelly.

This volume follows the familiar story of Lee's life from childhood to his presidency at Washington College, but the emphasis remains on the Civil War years. Taylor believes that Lee's aggressive strategy and tactics gave the Confederacy its best chance for independence. While this is a worthy argument, Taylor adopts the ideas of Gary W. Gallagher, Joseph Harsh, and other scholars who have endorsed Lee's preference for the offense. Although the author acknowledges their work, he basically offers a simplified version of their arguments. If Taylor had immersed himself in the archival material on Lee, he could have made an original contribution. For instance, he claims that Lee had a one-dimensional view of Lincoln. This might be true and raises a legitimate historical question, but he does not support this claim with a single citation (p. 102). Taylor is forced to speculate, as he does on too many occasions, because he failed to consult Lee's unpublished writings.

Taylor also fails to reveal the inner Lee. In his chapter on "The General and the Historians," he surprisingly overlooks Emory Thomas' *Robert E. Lee: A Biography* (1995). Thomas, like no other historian, has captured the complexities and contradictions of the general's personality. Taylor, although he cites Thomas, does not make clear how Thomas' work fits within his own interpretations. In the end, *Duty Faithfully Performed* is just another book on Robert E. Lee.

—Peter S. Carmichael
 Western Carolina University

CONFEDERATE ADMIRAL
The Life and Wars of Franklin
Buchanan

By Craig L. Symonds (Annapolis, Naval Institute Press, 1999. Pp.274, bibliography, maps, illustrations, notes, index. \$32.95, ISBN 1-55750-844-5)

Professor Symonds has written an excellent biography of one of the two Confederate Admirals (the other being Semmes of Alabama fame). Maryland resident Buchanan was a slaveholder (his father-in-law owned hundreds of slaves). Symonds works from his diary compiled only while at sea (thus we do not know what adventures he had ashore in many exotic locales such as Egypt in the 1840's). Symonds worked with other sources from Buchanan's era, as well as more modern sources for a full biography of his pre-war and war years. In fact, the bulk of the book covers the first sixty years of his life, before the American Civil War. But readers need have no fear, this is both readable and enjoyable as it covers such events as the actions during the Mexican-American War, the founding of the Naval Academy near his home that Buchanan oversaw, and the opening of Japan under Commodore Perry.

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In his early sixties, at the start of the Civil War, Buchanan is best known as the Commodore of the Confederate squadron at the battle of Hampton Roads. He was wounded on March 8, 1862 on his ironclad flagship the CSS Virginia. After recovering he was made the Confederacy's first Admiral (Symonds states that Buchanan was the only Confederate Admiral) and placed in charge of the squadron at Mobile, built around the ironclad Tennessee.

Unfortunately Symonds fails to get the details of the battle actions of Hampton Roads and Mobile right. Thus we learn a good deal about the man but less about the contribution of the shell guns of the wooden gunboats that supported Buchanan at Hampton Roads. The damage wrought by the shell gun with its explosion, fire, and splinters on and from the wooden walls was the main engine of change that brought about the ironclad. Also, three valiant attempts, not two as Symonds states, were made by Confederate vessels to take possession of the surrendered Congress. For battle histories the book cannot be considered definitive. Additional maps would also have been helpful.

Nevertheless while there are some blemishes in this work, Symonds has written a very readable and interesting biography.

—Jack Greene

Co-author of *Ironclads at War 1854-1891*

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Southern proslavery advocates saw their insistence upon equal property rights in the commonly held territories as equivalent to their forefathers' resistance to England's tyranny.

Michael Morrison portrays all parties in idealistic terms. Each of the contestants agreed that America's destiny lay in the vast reaches of the West. There American institutions would be spread, expanding freedom for future generations. Each described its critics as favoring an aristocratic power hostile to American first principles. Republicans talked of an ominous slave-power conspiracy. Southern proslavery representatives foresaw the specter of a northern-dominated national economy characterized by concentrated capital and economic dependency relationships. For his part, Douglas warned of a centralized polity reminiscent of the dictatorial Parliament of the 1770s.

In Professor Morrison's own words, he "assumes the legitimacy of each faction's argument." [p. 10] He does a fine job of presenting them so that the modern reader can appreciate how all sides self-righteously stumbled into America's bloodiest war.

—Ward M. McAfee

California State University, San Bernardino

THE TARNISHED CAVALIER

Major General Earl Van Dorn, C.S.A.

By Arthur B. Carter (Publisher? 1999, 264 pp., \$42.00, ISBN #1572330473).

Earl Van Dorn was the epitome of the Southern cavalier; handsome, daring, and popular with the ladies. As an army officer he showed significant promise, but recklessness prevented him from achieving the prominence of his Confederate peers. *The Tarnished Cavalier* is a retelling of Van Dorn's exciting, but controversial life. Although written as a biography, it reads more like a series of vignettes on the flamboyant Confederate cavalry officer. Since many of Van Dorn's personal papers were lost in a fire, the author is often forced to rely upon conjecture when depicting Van Dorn's character and motivations.

Raised in Port Gibson, Mississippi, Van Dorn attended West Point, where he graduated in 1842 near the bottom of his class. During the Mexican War he performed courageously at Monterrey and Chapultepec and was cited for gallantry in action. In 1858, Van Dorn led the "Wichita Expedition" against the Comanches and was wounded several times. After tendering his resignation from the U.S. Army in 1861, he was commissioned a colonel in the Confederate Army. A short time later he was promoted to major general and placed in command of the District of the Trans-Mississippi West, then the Army of the West. Van Dorn's costly mistakes and inexperience in directing such a large force resulted in devastating defeats during the Pea Ridge and

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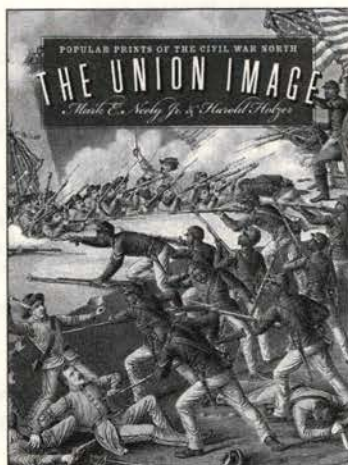
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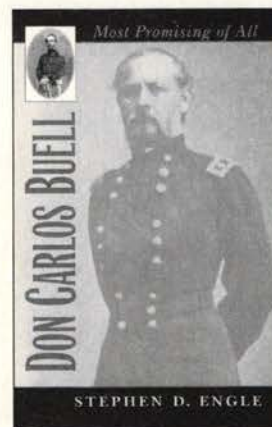
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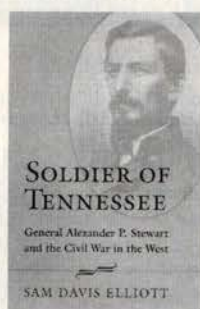
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Corinth campaigns. When commanding a more manageable cavalry division, Van Dorn redeemed himself with a successful raid on the Union supply depot at Holly Springs and a victory at Thompson's Station.

Van Dorn's controversial personality away from the battlefield revolved around his womanizing. Although he was married and the father of two children, he managed to carry on an affair that resulted in three children. It was Van Dorn's lust for women that cost him his life. His last liaison provoked jealous outrage from the woman's husband, who murdered Van Dorn. Like much of Van Dorn's life, the extent of this relationship is unknown. Although the author claims to shed new light on the controversies surrounding his subject, his

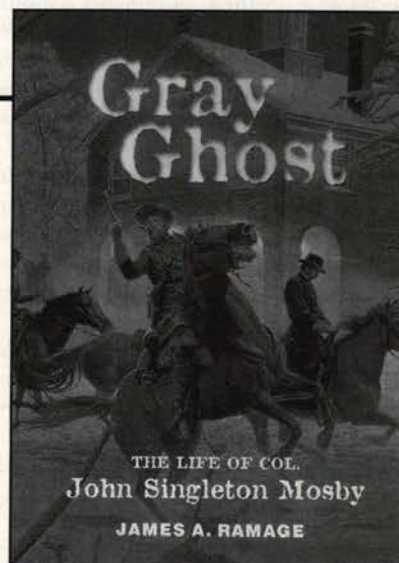
vague conclusions prevent readers from truly understanding *The Tarnished Cavalier*.

—Mitchell Yockelson, *National Archives*

MAJOR GENERAL JOHN ALEXANDER MCCLERNAND Politician in Uniform

Richard L. Kiper (Kent State University Press, 1999, Pp. 386, \$35.00, ISBN 0-87338-636-1)

This is a readable, well researched, workmanlike biography of Grant's most troublesome western subordinate. There is little that is new in this book for the specialist, apart from some of the material in chapter one concerning McClelland's ante-bellum political career.



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Kiper's conclusions—that McClernand was able, ambitious, and abrasive—are also conventional. There are occasional problems, as when the author mentions McClernand's failure, at the end of March 1863, to make provision for one thousand sick soldiers (p. 210), and then only five pages later remarks that "until late April, McClernand's command of his corps. . . was exemplary." In a book which shines a remorseless light on McClernand's vaulting ambition, it is surprising to find no reference to his plan (thwarted by Grant) to be the first man to land from the transports on the Mississippi shore during the Vicksburg campaign. Nevertheless, non-specialists will find this book illuminating, and for them Kiper's book is a valuable addition to the coverage of the war in the west.

—Keith Poulter

GRAY GHOST

The Life of Col. John Singleton Mosby

By James A. Ramage (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1999. Pp. 428. Maps, illustrations, notes, index. \$30.00 ISBN 0-8131-2135-3).

A biographer of John Hunt Morgan, James A. Ramage now adds an impressive account of another famous Confederate raider, John Singleton Mosby. Civil War readers will welcome this detailed study of Mosby's irregular tactics in and around the region in Virginia which became known as "Mosby's Confederacy." Ramage is careful not to exaggerate Mosby's strategic influence in the war. He adopts conservative estimates of the impact of Mosby's raids, usually in the form of Union forces diverted from battle. He does not hesitate to admit Mosby's minimal strategic importance (an issue further addressed by Keith Poulter in *North & South*, vol. 3, #1). Neither does he exaggerate Mosby's scouting for Robert E. Lee's army. Instead, Ramage emphasizes Mosby's psychological impact on Federal forces, particularly frustrated commanders such as Phil Sheridan, and stresses the guerrilla commander's contributions to Southern pride.

While providing a scholarly study of Mosby's career, Ramage does indulge in some hero worship. (With pride he tells of meeting Mosby's grandson.) He praises Mosby as "one of the most brilliant minds in the history of guerrilla war," but also adds such meaningless statements as Mosby was one of the most disciplined and incorruptible men "who ever lived" (pp. 2, 220). Ramage effectively depicts Mosby's gentle nature along with his combative side, but he employs the unfortunate term of Mosby's "bipolar personality" (p. 18). Less analysis is given Mosby's apparent relish for battle; instead the author presents Mosby's credentials as a bona fide Confederate hero.

Mosby's long postwar career offers special challenges, but Ramage portrays Mosby as a principled reformer, both as the American consul in Hong Kong and as a federal land agent in Nebraska's Sand Hills. His Republicanism ex-

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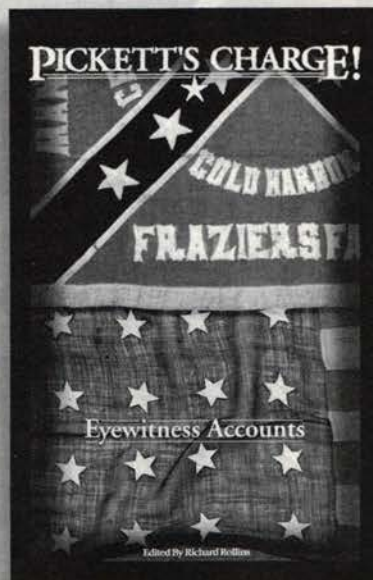
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iled him from Virginia until the end of his life, but Mosby did win accolades from Northerners, including former foes such as U.S. Grant. Modern readers will also appreciate Mosby's efforts to clarify the historical record on Lee's orders to Jeb Stuart prior to Gettysburg.

Ramage will probably not regret contributing to the Mosby myth. Many readers will likewise glory in the exploits of Mosby's men. But the author leaves unresolved a vital question posed by Mosby's career. To what extent were his guerrilla tactics justified? Mosby's tactics not only infuriated Federals but also worried Southern professionals (at least at first). The Union leadership never resolved the dilemma posed by Mosby; perhaps this book had just as little opportunity.

— Vernon L. Volpe

University of Nebraska at Kearney

### NO BAND OF BROTHERS

#### Problems of the Rebel High Command

By Steven E. Woodworth (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1999. Notes, index, 182 pp., \$29.95, ISBN 0-8262-1255-7).

This collection of cogent essays will benefit and challenge all students of the Civil War, especially those who have not read Steven Woodworth's books. Most of Woodworth's earlier analytical points will be familiar to those who have read his substantial works,

particularly Jefferson Davis and *His Generals* (1990) and *Davis and Lee at War* (1996). Each of these chapters has worthwhile arguments, and Woodworth drives home his main contentions: strong negative conclusions about the deficient generalship of Leonidas Polk, the bishop-general from Louisiana; the numerous faults of Joseph E. Johnston, an officer whose retreats overwhelmed his great promise; and the complex personality of P.G.T. Beauregard, a commander who displayed an inclination towards poor health.

According to Woodworth, Confederate generals routinely allowed personality clashes, fits of pique, misunderstandings, and actual or perceived insults to overcome achieving victories for the Confederacy, producing a lack of cooperation among senior generals that undermined the chances for Southern Independence. Using numerous specific examples, Woodworth shows in these essays that a pattern of clashing personalities among Confederate commanders must be put high on the list of reasons for Confederate defeat, Woodworth demonstrates that the Confederacy's most Important generals were not welded into a "band of brothers" willing to put aside personal status and determine, above all also, to win the war.

Two of the chapters deserve special mention. "The President's Choices" delineates Jefferson Davis' various options for promot-



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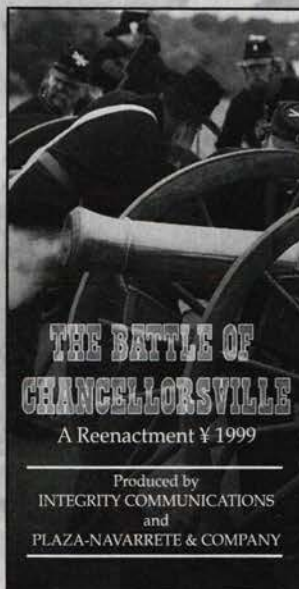
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ing officers (other than John Bell Hood) to corps command in the Army of Tennessee before the start of William T. Sherman's campaign toward Atlanta. Woodworth assesses several generals who were competent and had the potential for corps command and argues that Davis had good options but failed to exercise them. "Homespun Generals" (originally appearing as an article in *North & South* in 1998) is one of the best discussions of how any nation—including the Confederacy—fighting a long, total war must employ generals who had little military experience prior to the war's start.

In several of these essays, most previously published in journals or edited books and now conveniently brought together, Woodworth is able to set the stage by clearly summarizing and analyzing complex strategic developments in only a few paragraphs, then shift to the operational or tactical levels, doing an excellent job of conveying the pressures, capriciousness, and chaos that maneuvers and battles always possess.

—Joseph G. Dawson III  
Texas A&M University

### THE CIVIL WAR BATTLES OF THE WESTERN THEATRE

By Bryan S. Bush (Paducah, KY: Turner Publishing Co., 1998. Pp. 204. \$49.95, ISBN 1-56311-434-8. Order from the press at 1-800-788-0335).

Civil War literature runs the spectrum from scholarly texts to personal accounts to collections of photography and other forms of artwork. The present volume attempts to capture as much of this spectrum as possible. The result is both positive and negative.

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In addition, there are essays on such topics as artillery, the medical corps, prisons, cavalry, and the Orphan Brigade. Though these essays also fail to scratch the surface, there is a short bibliography for anyone interested in pursuing a topic further.

What sets this book apart is the extensive collection of photographs of uniforms, weapons, and other relics - the result of a collaboration between the publisher and the Civil War Museum of Bardstown, Kentucky. The majority of objects pictured are in pristine condition, which, in and of itself is worth the price of the book. Both scholar and novice will find this book informative and entertaining.

—Kevin Levin  
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**JOSHUA CHAMBERLAIN**

*The Soldier and the Man*

By Edward G. Longacre, (Conshohocken,  
PA, Combined Books, 1999. Pp. 395. \$29.95,  
ISBN 1-58097-021-4).

Making a larger-than-life hero human again is no small feat; yet Edward Longacre's new study of Joshua Chamberlain succeeds in this regard quite admirably. Enduring Civil War general, college president, and governor, Chamberlain's activities at the Battle of Little Round Top received worldwide attention with the release of the movie *Gettysburg*. In recent years, a number of volumes have either lionized Chamberlain or simply relied quite heavily on his own accounts of his experiences to portray a virtual icon of the Civil War. That Chamberlain was significant and heroic is undeniable; that he is without flaw or fault, however, is another matter altogether, and Longacre seeks to explore the full context of Chamberlain's life before and after the war. In this regard, Longacre is no mere chronicler of things we already know rather well. Instead, he examines all aspects of Chamberlain's character, and draws upon independent, and sometimes contradictory, eyewitness accounts of the general's battlefield exploits. By so doing, it is apparent that perhaps it is no longer wise to accept all of Chamberlain's accounts at face value.

For example, Chamberlain has generally been portrayed as a selfless individual who served merely to serve. Longacre, however, demonstrates that Chamberlain was a rather ambitious man who was hungry for promotion and attention. Indeed, while he was in the field, he sought to have his wife meet key politicians at home who might be able to further his career. And, while Longacre hastens to add that there is nothing wrong with this, it is nevertheless a trait not normally associated with Chamberlain. So, too, does Longacre look askance at Chamberlain's war service record of being severely wounded so many times and refusing to think about staying home. Although previous biographers and historians have lauded Chamberlain for his willingness to go back into service despite being so profoundly wounded, Longacre disagrees. The fact that Chamberlain would go off to war time and again even though he was shattered as a person by war's end certainly affected the general's post war years. Longacre thinks that at some point Chamberlain should have considered staying home and put the good of the whole above the good of the part.

In a review as short as this, it is impossible to do justice to all of Longacre's insights. As the author myself of a forthcoming biography of a controversial Civil War general, I can appreciate the difficulty in writing against the grain, so to speak. Not everyone will agree

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The film was produced on site and incorporates battle scenes at the actual location of most of the action. Corn was planted the way it was in the 1860's on the actual Miller farm corn field. Some scenes were shot nearby to protect the integrity of site and to eliminate the possibility of showing monuments and paved roads. For example, a replica Dunker Church was built to realistically show cannon rounds hitting the building during action that swirled around that structure. Even though removed from the actual church site, it is accurate in every detail.

Interspersed with true to life battle scenes are interpretations by well known historians describing the action from both the Confederate and Union vantage points.

The film starts showing the Confederate army wading across the two to three foot deep Potomac River as they entered Maryland on their way to Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. The reader will recall that Union General McClellan knew Bobby Lee's plans because General Order 191 had been found by two Indiana soldiers. McClellan's army met Lee at Antietam (Sharpsburg) and the battle was underway.

The film very effectively uses freeze frames, a realistic hospital sequence, and diagrams to illustrate the battle. Music is by the London Symphony and the film is very well narrated by James Earl Jones.

The film would be even better if a map of the entire battlefield had been included showing the often disconnected fights by flashes of fire and a time sequence. Another minor improvement would have been to have small pyrotechnics showing the rail fence baricades being hit by mini-balls.

The Film Preview reveals the effort that went into making this a great film. As a reenactor myself and a two time visitor to Antietam, I appreciate the effort that went into producing this film. I own over 65 Civil War video-tapes and I place *Antietam* in the top

two on my list—only the high budget movie *Gettysburg* rates as high.

—Walt Schroeder  
Professor Emeritus, Oregon State University

## ALSO RECEIVED

■ **Where Death And Glory Meet: Colonel Robert Gould Shaw and The 54th Massachusetts Infantry.** By Russell Duncan (University of Georgia Press, 1999, Pp. xv,179, \$35.00 (pb. \$15.95), ISBN 0-8203 2135-4/0-8203-2136-2)

The publisher's description of the book lauds it as "the true story behind the film *Glory*," and the book lives up to that, conveying a candid portrait of the boy colonel.

■ **The Complete Civil War Journal and Selected Letters of Thomas Wentworth Higginson.** Christopher Looby (ed) (University of Chicago Press, 2000, Pp xix, 393, \$35.00, ISBN 0-226-33330-2)

A fascinating view of the war from one of the "Secret Six" who financed John Brown, and who later became colonel of the 1st South Carolina (Colored) Volunteers.

■ **The 1863-1864 Civil War Diary of Captain James Penfield: 5th New York Volunteer Cavalry, Company H.** (Press of America Inc., Ticonderoga, NY, 1999, Pp 285, limited edition of 500 copies)

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Brief daily entries, mostly relating to life as a prisoner in Libby prison and other Confederate POW camps. Useful for those with a specialist interest in Civil War POW life.

- **Gettysburg: A Battlefield Guide** Mark Grimsley and Brooks D. Simpson (University of Nebraska Press, 1999, Pp. xv, 212, \$17.95. ISBN 0-8032-7077-1)

A superb guide to the battlefield, liberally illustrated with helpful maps.

- **Triumph and Defeat: The Vicksburg Campaign.** By Terence J. Winschel (Savas Publishing Co, 1999, Pp. x, 219, \$24.95, ISBN 1-882810-31-7)

Ten lucid essays—five on the mobile campaign, five on the siege—by the Chief His-

torian at the Vicksburg National Military Park. Anyone who wishes to understand Grant's masterpiece should read this book.

- **Atlanta: A Portrait of The Civil War** By Michael Rose (Arcadia Publishing, Charleston, SC, 1999, Pp. 128, \$18.99 (pb.\$9.99), ISBN 0-7385-0138-7)

A collection of 152 photographs of the city, its inhabitants, and those who fought there, taken before, during, and shortly after the war, compiled by Atlanta History Center historian Michael Rose.

- **The Lines Are Drawn: Political Cartoons of the Civil War.** Kristen M. Smith (ed) (Hill Street Press, Athens, GA, 1999, Pp. xix, 155, \$18.50, ISBN 1-892514-06-0)

Cartoons from both northern and southern publications, and from the London *Punch*.

- **The Civil War Memoirs of Sergeant George W. Darby, 1861-1865.** Rogan H. Moore (ed) (Heritage Press, Bowie, Md, 1999, Pp. 185, \$19.50, ISBN 0-7884-1307-4)

A vivid narrative by a Pennsylvanian volunteer who rose to the rank of sergeant and served throughout the war.

- **First and Second Maryland Cavalry, CSA.** Robert J. Driver (Rockbridge Publishing, 1999, Pp. vii, 359, \$34.95, ISBN 1-883522-24-2)

Unit history with muster rolls.

in a God who acts as the "primary cause" of Creation and then conveniently disappears from the scene, leaving the Universe to operate according to Natural Law. Deism explicitly rejects belief in miracles and any and all claims to "revealed truth." This would certainly rule out acceptance of the Old Testament, which abounds in miracles and absolutist claims. It is no secret that prominent American Deists such as Thomas Paine, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison and Benjamin Franklin lent no more credence to the Old Testament than they did to the New Testament.

As historian Franklin Steiner pointed out in his definitive 1938 book, *The Religious Beliefs of American Presidents—From Washington to FDR*, Abraham Lincoln as a young man was strongly influenced by Thomas Paine's Age of Reason, which openly rejected belief in Christianity and Judaism, and he was also a known associate of a group of free-thinkers in Springfield, Illinois. Steiner indicated that the young Lincoln actually published a tract denouncing the Holy Trinity but was persuaded to destroy it in order to protect his political career. Lincoln is quoted as saying, "the only church I would be a member of is one whose only credo is the Golden Rule." This would suggest that Abraham Lincoln was, at most, a conventional Deist or even perhaps, like General William T. Sherman and Colonel Robert Ingersoll, an agnostic.

—Dennis Middlebrooks  
Brooklyn, New York

## NATHAN BEDFORD FORREST III

Excellent work as usual. Congratulations on the merger, too.

It's pretty trivial, but the NB Forrest III who was killed in WWII was the man's great-grandson, not his grandson. (NBF had only one son, named William; his son was NBF II, and that man's son was number three of the name.)

—Ed Frank  
via email

## THE MAKING OF WEST VIRGINIA

After his clear and careful analysis of the West Virginia statehood controversy in "Montani Semper Liberi," by Ed Steers, Jr. (N&S, vol. 3, #2), I think he would appreciate the following anecdote in which Lincoln makes a comment which any cautious politician approaching a controversial issue should keep in mind:

A few congressmen who doubted the constitutionality of such a move urged Lincoln to veto the bill. Lincoln replied, "I'll tell you what I'll do. I'll split the difference and say nothing about it."\*

—Ken Wollenberg  
New York, NY

\* *The Civil War in Song and Story*, ed. by Frank Moore (P.F. Collier, New York: 1889), p. 167.

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## Crossfire (continued from page 7)

with elevations of the sight, and of the point to be aimed at for each distance."

Willard concludes with recommendations that rifled arms be used by select light infantry and skirmishers who are thoroughly trained to use them and understand the ladder sights. General infantry troops should not have the elevating sight and should be armed with smooth bore muskets with buck and ball loads. One ball and three buck shot. Willard expressed these views in *Comparative Value of Rifled and Smooth-Bored Arms*, Washington, D.C., February 18, 1863.

Thank You for allowing me to share this material with you.

—Thomas K. Tate  
Orefield, Pennsylvania

## WAS LINCOLN A CHRISTIAN?

Edward Steers' article on Abraham Lincoln's religious views ("A Question of Faith: Was Lincoln a Christian?" in N&S, vol. 2, #7) correctly notes that, despite claims to the contrary, Lincoln was not a Christian in the doctrinaire sense of the word. However, his claim that Lincoln was a Deist "who believed the Old Testament to be the defining word of God" appears to be quite dubious. A fundamental precept of Deism was the belief



# The Blue & Gray Education Society News

## BGES



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## BGES Beefs Up Staff

### THE GROWTH OF THE BGES

and the demands of servicing an active organization resulted in the November 1st addition of Claire Wanat, Becky Cummins and John Mason to the BGES staff. All commenced their duties and are in training to provide outstanding service to the BGES and her membership.

I hope you will get to know all of the new staff, they are more than capable—they are awesome and will do a great job for our members.

—Len Riedel

## Civil War Society Welcome at BGES Seminar Events

### THE RECENT ACQUISITION OF THE CIVIL WAR SOCIETY

by *North & South* magazine brought nearly 3,300 members to the organization. As part of the ongoing and evolving relationship between BGES and *North & South*, Society members will be welcome to attend BGES seminar, symposium, and tour events at the BGES member's rate. This agreement opens up a broad range of geo-

graphically balanced and diverse programming for CWS members.

BGES is now in its sixth year of offering comprehensive, high quality programs that feature some of the nation's leading scholars. Most BGES programs are limited to just one bus to maximize the contact with the faculty and the interaction with each other. Meals have long been a valued support feature.

Civil War Society members will soon receive a mailing offering free information on BGES programming. New participants in the BGES seminar programming receive a twelve month membership in the BGES and the satisfaction of knowing that a portion of the proceeds of the event are going to support the Blue & Gray Education Society's nonprofit charitable work.

## Hawaiian Trip Offer Starts Mobile Campaign Interpretive Fund Raising

### BGES MEMBERS HAVE BEEN CHALLENGED

to raise \$50,000 during a six month campaign with the proceeds going to support the interpretive projects at Fort Morgan and Fort Gaines in Alabama. Dubbed the "First Millennium Challenge," nearly \$10,000 has been raised in the first month. The drive has been anchored by the emergence of several BGES members who will independently sponsor signs at one or more of the sites.

The upcoming interpretive project may cost as much as \$100,000—this project is designed to provide a solid base for the balance of the fund raising. Participants in the Millennium Challenge must all be members of the BGES and donations range from a minimum of \$20 up to and beyond \$2,000 each. BGES donors will become eligible for the award of a week at the BGES's timeshare property on the island of Kauai or

at any of our sister resorts around the world. The choice will belong to the selected donor.

BGES welcomes independent support of the Mobile project from the readers of *North & South*; however, membership in the BGES is required to be eligible for the award of the trip. Any donation in excess of \$80 will result in a 12-month membership in the BGES and eligibility for the trip. For further information contact Len at 888-741-2437.

## 1999 Seminar Season Closes With A Bang

**LARGE AND ENTHUSIASTIC** participation at Wilmington, Fredericksburg, and Stones River concluded BGES's most successful seminar season. Over thirty-five Wilmington participants joined Ed Bearss, Chris Fonvielle, Rod Gragg, Steve Wise, and Judy Hallock in a memorable three day program. Afterwards, BGES made donations on

behalf of the participants to both the American Red Cross and Salvation Army who were engaged in disaster relief efforts following destructive hurricanes.

BGES members rapidly filled the Military Staff Ride Program on the Battle of Fredericksburg. The sold out (thirty-six participants) event featured Mike Miller and

Greg Mertz in a probing, educational format. Well deserved kudos filled the critique forms as this excellent team proved yet again that BGES doesn't take any short cuts when it comes to quality.

The final event at Stones River was sold out as well with the students being rewarded by a program that Ed Bearss termed as one of the finest he had ever seen conducted on Stones River. Bob Womack's stirring talk on Tennessee soldiers at Stones River had participants standing in a line out the door to buy his out of print book *Call Forth the Mighty Men*. Bob was well supported by Len Riedel, Steve Woodworth, Mauriel Joslyn, Jim Ogden and Bearss. The weather at all three events couldn't have been better!

PS: You may get a first edition copy of Womack's book from BGES for \$35 inclusive of shipping by calling Claire at 888-741-2437. BGES has all the remaining stock of less than 750 volumes.

## Brice's Crossroads Monograph Re-released

**IN RESPONSE** to demand, BGES has republished its 1995 monograph, *A Study in Warfighting, Nathan Bedford Forrest and the Battle of Brice's Crossroads*. This much touted work on Forrest's masterpiece was mentioned in Herman Hattaway's excellent work, *Shades of Blue and Gray*.

Hills has taken apart the military lessons of this famous small unit action during which Forrest destroyed a much larger enemy and presented them in a wonderfully

simple but meaningful analysis. The result is a look at the value of battlefield preservation from the perspective of the professional soldier. The work is even more meaningful now that the entire battlefield has been preserved for future study.

Copies of the work may be had by mailing a check made out to the BGES for \$7.50 (including shipping and handling) to: BGES Brice's Monograph, 416 Beck Street, Norfolk, VA 23503.



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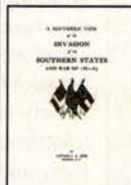
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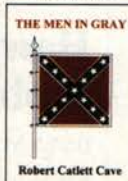
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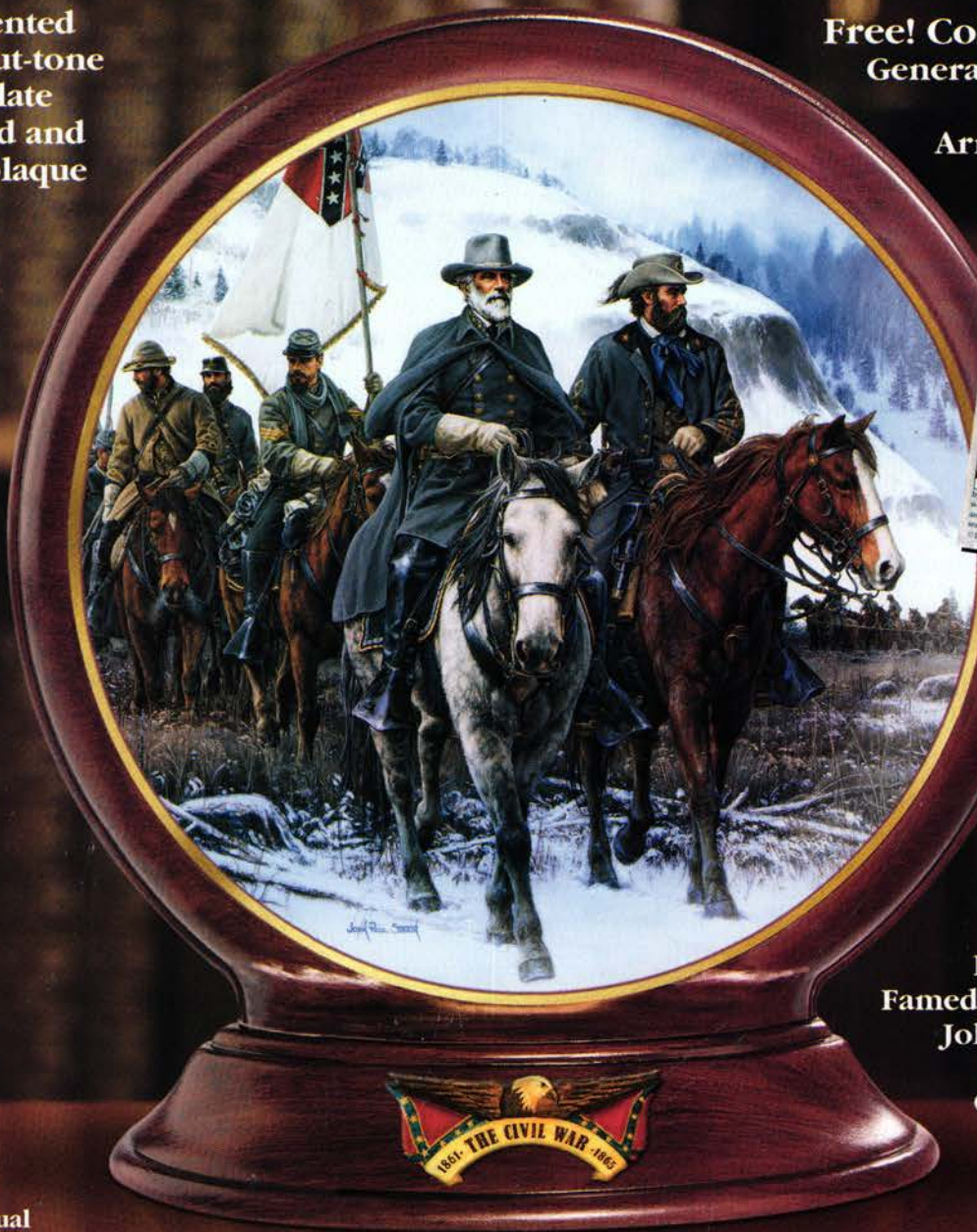
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Richly presented with a walnut-tone sculptural plate display stand and decorative plaque

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Shown slightly smaller than actual height of 8 1/2 inches



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